The Indonesian Language

Its history and role in modern society

James Sneddon

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THE INDONESIAN LANGUAGE

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TO ANTON M. MOELIONO
A TRUE CHAMPION OF THE INDONESIAN LANGUAGE

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ITS HISTORY AND ROLE IN MODERN SOCIETY

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PANCASILA

KETUHANAN YANG MAHA ESA

KEMANUSIAAN YANG ADIL DAN BERADAB

PERSATUAN INDONESIA

KERAKYATAN YANG DIPIMPIN OLEH HIKMAT KEBIJAK-SANAAN DALAM PERMUSYAWARATAN / PERWAKILAN

KEADILAN SOSIAL BAGI SELURUH RAKYAT INDONESIA

PREFACE

This book discusses the history of the Indonesian national language and its role in the modern state. Although most of the topics dealt with are also covered in other publications, often in more detail, there has never been a unified book-length historical and social study of the language. The book aims to be of interest to non-specialists and those with a general interest in the language. It therefore avoids lengthy and detailed consideration of specific topics. Much of the material is drawn from other works, and these are identified for readers wishing to pursue particular matters in more detail.

Since late 1997, Indonesia has been in a state of social and political turmoil, which makes the country of interest to many people, including academics in fields such as history, politics and sociology, journalists and those with an interest in international affairs. The national language, intimately linked with the nation and in many ways a reflection of it, shares in this interest.

A study of the Indonesian language is particularly relevant to Australians. Indonesia is Australia's closest large neighbour and is consistently identified as one of Australia's most important foreign relationships. A knowledge of the country and its language is often emphasised to Australians and Indonesian is one of the major languages taught in Australia, at both secondary and tertiary levels. Despite recent serious economic and political problems, relations with Indonesia clearly remain of major significance to Australia, for political, economic, strategic and social reasons.

However, interest in Indonesia is by no means confined to Australia. Because of its position as the fourth largest nation in the world and the

largest Moslem state, it is the focus of considerable international attention. Indonesia's population is more than 200 million, and the number speaking the national language is approaching 100 per cent. Indonesian is thus among the languages with the highest numbers of speakers in the world; a study of the language is highly relevant for this reason alone.

While the book aims to be informative to teachers and advanced students of the language and students of linguistics, nevertheless the structure of the language is only very briefly touched on. Comments on grammar and phonology are few and discussion of phonetics is kept to a minimum. There is thus no assumption of expert knowledge of linguistics or Indonesian on the part of the reader. Although the book traces the history of the language, linguistic description of historical changes is only given in a very limited way. Any historical linguistic study would, of necessity, be technical and thus uninformative to anyone without training in historical-comparative linguistics.

Traditional English place-names are used, rather than local names; for instance, Malacca instead of Malaka or Melaka, and Moluccas instead of Maluku. For Indonesian names, the present-day Indonesian spelling is used; thus *Pujangga Baru* instead of the older spelling *Poedjangga Baroe*. The names of the first two presidents, which are inconsistently spelt today with 'u' or 'oe', are rendered Sukarno and Suharto. All instances of Indonesian words and phrases are presented in italics.

I am grateful to many people for helpful assistance, advice and information. These include Soenjono Dardjowidjojo, Bambang Kaswanti Purwo, Dendy Sugono, Yuli Kartika Sari, Tessa Yuditha, George Quinn, Sander Adelaar, John Jorgensen, Keith Foulcher, Bob Elson, Ed Aspinall, Hein Steinhauer, Margaret Bocquet-Siek, Raimy Che-Ross, Doris Nicholson and Leila Chudori.

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Finally, I express my appreciation to Anton Moeliono, who gave me the opportunity to work for two extended periods at the National Centre for Language Cultivation and Development (the *Pusat Bahasa*)

in Jakarta. This enabled me to gain some insight into its activities. Professor Moeliono has devoted his professional life to the Indonesian language, to its development, refinement and acceptance, enduring many battles for his cause along the way.

Any errors in the text are mine alone and I apologise to anyone who supplied information that I misinterpreted or misused in any way.

Irian Jaya
(West Papua)
PHILIPPINES
Ternate
Bacan
Moluccas
Seram
Ambon
Banda
Buru
Timor
Menado
Sulawesi
Kupang
Larantuka
Flores
Sumbawa
Sumba
Makassar
Bali
Lombok
BRUNEI
MALAYSIA
(East)
Borneo
(Kalimantan)
Banjarmasin
Java
Bangka Is.
Jakarta
Riau - Lingga
Archipelago
Palembang
Sumatra
Malacca
Malacca Strait
MALAYSIA
(Peninsular)
THAILAND
Medan
Banda Aceh
0
kilometers
800
Traditional Malay language areas
Major locations where post-creole
forms of Malay are spoken
• Banda

1

INTRODUCTION

A NEW LANGUAGE FOR A NEW NATION

On 28 October 1928, delegates at the Second Indonesian Youth Congress passed a resolution, known as the Youth Pledge, proclaiming Indonesian to be the language of national unity. The language to which they were referring was Malay, or rather the variety of it that would become the national language of the future Indonesian state. Malay was far from being universally understood in Indonesia, with only about 5 per cent of the population at that time being native speakers. It was, however, the principal lingua franca among the speakers of the hundreds of languages in the Indonesian archipelago and it was partly this status that led to its choice, under a new name, as the national language.

The development of Indonesian as the sole national language and one of the major unifying forces in Indonesia has been described by a leading sociolinguist as a 'miraculous' process whereby the population was successfully 'convinced that a particular outside language should become their own integrative, inter-ethnic, unifying tongue'.[1] It was an essential element, some say the most important element, in the integration of hundreds of ethnic groups into what is today the fourth most populous nation in the world; 'perhaps the most important single ingredient in the shaping of the modern Indonesian culture'.[2]

The nation of Indonesia stretches over thousands of inhabited islands, from Sumatra in the west to West Papua (Irian Jaya) in the east, with a total population of more than 200 million at the end of the 20th century. Estimates of the number of languages in Indonesia vary, but a figure of 550, one-tenth of all the languages in the world, is not

excessive. The Indonesian nationalists at the beginning of the 20th century were fully aware of the need for a single national language to allow communication throughout the future nation — to comprise all the Dutch possessions, known then as Dutch East Indies — if unity was to be achieved and maintained. The Indonesian motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity), acknowledges the multiethnic and multilingual nature of Indonesia and emphasises the importance of unity.

Since independence, Indonesian has had the status of national language in its true sense, being the sole official language and the language of national unity. Its position has been far firmer than that of national languages in other multiethnic Southeast Asian countries, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines, where linguistic differences have prevented any language achieving such a status and where the chosen national language has, to a greater or lesser extent, been overshadowed by a foreign language, English. How remarkable the acceptance of Indonesian has been is shown by a comparison with India, where forms for the 2001 census had to be printed in 17 languages. By contrast, in every Indonesian census, forms have been printed only in Indonesian, although the country has many more languages than India.

In a slightly different form, Malay is also the national language of Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei, and is spoken by communities in a number of other countries. The history of the Malay language, the events leading up to its choice as the national language of Indonesia, and the planning and other developments that have influenced the language are the subject matter of this book.

When Malay became the national language, as Indonesian, it did not take over all the roles of the other languages spoken throughout the archipelago, which continued to be used within their own linguistic communities. As the official language, it is used in the mass media and is the language of all government business and of education. It is used in most situations where two people with different regional backgrounds wish to communicate with each other, although in some regions local lingua francas also have a role. While the other languages of the nation continue their role as language of the home within their own regions, many are in a precarious position. They are more likely to be confined to use in areas of traditional culture rather than anything associated with modern life. Informal communication within the home and village in activities associated with traditional customs, such as ceremonies, story telling, and traditional occupations, will usually be in the regional language. But Indonesian is more likely to be used in modern

contexts, such as discussion of politics and technology. As the modern world continues to intrude into even the remotest villages, through television and education, knowledge of Indonesian grows. Larger regional languages are surviving the increasing spread of Indonesian into aspects of everyday life, but for many minor languages there is increasing threat to survival as speakers turn to Indonesian in more and more areas of their daily lives.

For most of the 20th century, the greatest challenge to Indonesian was to quickly become the language of unity and a fully developed national language able to cope with all the demands of modern life. During the century, the language underwent enormous changes, including significant syntactic elaboration and a much enlarged lexicon, thus acquiring greatly enhanced powers of expression. During the Suharto era (1966–98), the government viewed standardisation and modernisation of the language as essential to its program of economic development. As a consequence, the nature of the language and the language-planning process came in for criticism from some who saw the language as too closely linked to the authoritarian Suharto government. Today, the language faces new challenges. The unity of the Indonesian state is under threat and this presents threats to the continued development, expansion and stability of the language.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE

The Malay-speaking people originated on the coastal plains of east and southeast Sumatra and off-shore islands, later spreading to the Malay Peninsula and to coastal areas of Borneo. They were first-rate seafarers and traders and their position in the Straits of Malacca between Sumatra and the peninsula brought them into contact with merchants and seamen from India and later from China and other countries. Able to control east–west trade, which was required to pass through the Straits of Malacca, Malay kingdoms became prosperous and powerful. From its early history, the Malay language was used in the region by traders and travellers from many lands as their means of communication with each other. When trade routes spread east to the Moluccas (Spice Islands), and even further afield, Malay was taken along, becoming the language of trading ports throughout the archipelago. Simplified forms of Malay, heavily influenced by local languages, formed the basis for later creole varieties, especially in the eastern archipelago, where they sometimes displaced local languages as the first language of the home. Such forms of Malay were well established in the Moluccas when the Portuguese

arrived early in the 16th century. The spread of Malay can be seen from the considerable number of borrowings from a very early date in languages as far afield as Tagalog in northern Philippines.

Before the 16th century there were two classes of Malay: 'indigenous' or 'traditional' varieties in Sumatra, Malaya, nearby islands and some coastal areas of Borneo, and 'non-indigenous' or 'post-creole' varieties, spoken by populations who were originally exposed to Malay as a contact language and whose original languages were eventually replaced by it.

In its traditional heartland in the western archipelago, literary varieties developed in the various royal courts. It also became a prestige literary language in aristocratic circles in many non-Malay-speaking areas, such as Aceh in northern Sumatra and Makassar in South Sulawesi. Of particular importance in the history of the language was the literary 'Classical Malay' of the Riau-Johor Sultanate, which continued and developed the traditions of the literary language of the earlier royal court of Malacca.

The development of two standard forms of Malay — Malaysian and Indonesian — had its origin in the rivalry between the British and Dutch for trade supremacy in the archipelago. In 1824, the British and Dutch signed a treaty that specified their separate spheres of influence. As has happened so often in Asia and Africa, the drawing of boundaries was for the convenience of the colonial powers, taking little account of traditional boundaries or ethnic and cultural groupings. As a result, the traditional Malay homeland was split in two, with Sumatra and offshore islands going to the Dutch and the Malay Peninsula to the British. The former Sultanate of Riau-Johor was divided, Riau going to the Dutch and today being part of Indonesia, and Johor going to the British and now being part of Malaysia. This did have one beneficial result in relation to language; because the Classical Malay of Riau-Johor was so prestigious and because the 1824 treaty left it in both spheres of influence it was to play an important part in the shaping of the standard language in both Malaysia and Indonesia. As a result, the two languages are very similar — which might not have been the case if the boundary had been placed elsewhere.

The Dutch encouraged the use of Malay as a lingua franca among the speakers of the archipelago's many languages, recognising that it provided a vehicle by which they could communicate throughout their colonies, thereby retaining and strengthening their position. By the early 20th century, emerging nationalist groups in the Dutch East

Indies were using Malay publicly, seeing it as the only language through which they could spread their message. The Malay that they were using was a convergence of many varieties whose sources were in both the 'High' Malay of the literary traditions and the various forms of 'Low' Malay, of both traditional and post-creole antecedents. Ironically, in choosing Malay the nationalists were inspired by the same desire as the Dutch: to unite the archipelago's people through use of a common language.

When the Second Indonesian Youth Congress of 1928 recognised the language as the 'language of unity', its future role as national language was already a fait accompli. The declaration was, however, of great symbolic importance; the nationalists had, by changing the name of the language to Indonesian, formally linked it to the future state of Indonesia. When the Japanese occupied the Dutch territories early in 1942, the use of Dutch in administration and education was immediately banned and Indonesian overnight achieved the de facto status of official language. This was formalised with the Declaration of Independence on 17 August 1945.

THE STANDARDISATION AND SPREAD OF INDONESIAN

The modern Indonesian language is strikingly different from the language of the early 20th century. Language planning began in 1942, but development of the language to make it suitable for communication as a national language had already informally begun, in novels and in the writings of intellectuals, and in fact even earlier, in the decisions of the Dutch over the form of language to use in education.

These developments involved mainly the language of education and literature and not the language of everyday interaction. There thus began a process of differentiation into two very different forms of the language, a situation known as diglossia (see p. 121). The seeds of this process lay in the decision of the Dutch authorities in the 19th century that Malay-language education would use High Malay, or Riau Malay, the style that had evolved in Classical Malay literature. This was, to a large extent, an artificial construct, developed over many centuries, which had diverged significantly from the various vernacular forms of the language spoken by the common people in their daily lives.

By independence the two styles — high or formal language and low or informal language — had become quite distinct, a situation that continues to the present. The high variety is used in education and in all

government business, in the law and mass media and in other domains of formal activity. The low variety is the language of the home and of informal social interaction.

Partly as a result of official language-planning activities, but also under other influences, such as the mass media, a quite standardised form of the high language has emerged. Informal or colloquial varieties of the language, on the other hand, vary considerably from place to place and among different groups within the one area.

Most Indonesian children have little or no contact with the formal language until they begin their education. Formal Indonesian is expected to be mastered by educated people and proficiency in it is a mark of a person's level of education.

There are several consequences of this. First, because formal language is used on important occasions, such as state ceremonies, and is mastered by better educated (and therefore usually wealthier) people, it is generally regarded as superior to informal speech; it is the prestige form of the language. Informal speech, by contrast, is frequently held in disdain. There is a tradition of study of the formal language, with dictionaries and grammars and other descriptions. It is held up as 'good and correct' language and there is a flourishing advice industry, for people eager to improve their language skills and thereby also their employment prospects. On the other hand, there has been virtually no study by Indonesian linguists of the informal variety. The language-planning authorities show no interest in informal speech and the official grammar of Indonesian contains no description of it.

Second, although the formal variety has greater prestige, many people feel alienated from it. People who have not had the opportunity of a good education are very unlikely to have anything approaching adequate proficiency in the high variety. It is associated by such people with the elite, from whose ranks they are excluded. Such people often feel no desire to develop proficiency and have no inclination to participate in efforts to cultivate the language. There is thus something of a paradox in that many people feel pride in their national language, as a symbol of the nation and of its uniqueness, yet, on the other hand, have no personal emotional commitment to it, feeling it to be something remote and detached from their own lives.

Informal varieties of Indonesian, often referred to as *bahasa sehari-hari* (everyday language), are increasingly being used in daily interaction at the expense of regional languages. Their use is

particularly strong in larger cities, especially Jakarta, where people daily come into contact with others from many language backgrounds. Jakarta is a great melting pot, as to a lesser extent are other large cities, like Medan, Palembang, Bandung and Semarang. People who migrate to the cities find themselves surrounded by neighbours from many different regions, in which case Indonesian is usually the only means of communication between them. Their children are educated in Indonesian and use it with their friends. In such an environment it takes only two or three generations before the regional language is lost altogether from the family. While the number of speakers of Indonesian in 1928 was very limited, the percentage of the population who can now be counted as native speakers of Indonesian has grown rapidly, rising to 41 per cent of the population at the time of the 1971 census, and to 83 per cent by the 1990 census. In the larger cities, especially Jakarta, virtually the whole population can now speak Indonesian, with a growing number being monolingual in the language.

In recent decades, a prestige variety of informal Indonesian has emerged in the speech of the Jakarta middle class, which is developing into a standard colloquial variety of the language. Thus the terms 'standard' and 'formal' must be clearly differentiated; it is likely that, as has happened in many other languages, standard varieties of both formal and informal language will exist in the near future.

MALAY OUTSIDE INDONESIA

In an only slightly different form from Standard Indonesian, a standard variety of Malay is the national language of Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei.

Following the dividing of the Malay world in 1824, the language travelled in two separate directions, coming under the influence of English in the British colonies and Dutch in the Dutch East Indies. Despite an enormous variety of regional dialects of Malay throughout the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Borneo, the national languages are today remarkably similar, heavily based as they are on the same literary tradition.[3]

However, in many details the different Dutch and British influences can be clearly seen and this is nowhere more apparent than in vocabulary. In many cases, Malaysian has an English word while Indonesian has a Dutch word to express the same meaning, as in the following examples:

	MALAYSIAN	INDONESIAN
suitcase	*beg* (English 'bag')	*kopor* (Dutch *koffer*)
tyre	*tayar*	*ban* (Dutch *band*)
bicycle	*basikal*	*sepeda* (Dutch *velocipede* [obsolete])
ticket	*tiket*	*karcis* (Dutch *kaartjes* [plural])

A number of related, though not phonologically identical, English and Dutch words have been borrowed into the respective languages, such as:

	MALAYSIAN	INDONESIAN
police	*polis*	*polisi* (Dutch *politie*)
policy	*polisi*	*polis* (Dutch *polis*)
television	*televisyen*	*televisi* (Dutch *televisie*)
August	*Ogos*	*Agustus* (Dutch *Augustus*)

In many cases, one of the languages has borrowed from a source other than the language of the colonial power or one has retained the original Malay word:

	MALAYSIAN	INDONESIAN
towel	*tuala* (Portuguese)	*handuk* (Dutch)
Christmas	*Kerismas* (English)	*Natal* (Portuguese)
room	*bilik* (Malay)	*kamar* (Dutch)
file	*fail* (English)	*berkas* (Malay)

Indonesian has also borrowed considerably from Javanese (see p. 156) and, in recent times, from Jakarta Malay (see p. 153) and Sanskrit (see p. 167), while Malaysian has borrowed considerably more from Arabic. These and other differences between the two standard forms of Malay are conspicuous. Nevertheless, the similarities between the two vastly outweigh the differences and they are, by and large, mutually intelligible.[4] Moreover, the Malaysian variety is under considerable influence from Indonesian, exposure coming largely via films and magazines.

National consciousness in the British colonies did not emerge until long after it did in the Dutch colony and this is reflected in language development. After the Second World War, English continued as the official language and the language of all higher education in the British colonies, with Malay very much occupying a subservient role. It was not until 1952 that the First Congress of Malay was held (in Singapore) and

it was concerned mainly with the question of which writing system, the Latin-based or Arabic-based, should become official. The Latin-based script was eventually chosen and use of Arabic script has continued to decline ever since. The language-planning authority *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* (Language and Literacy Agency) was established in 1956.[5]

In Indonesia, Malay was not a major community language; its establishment as the official language therefore presented neither threat nor favouritism to any ethnic group and was universally supported. By contrast, in Malaysia the Malay language was very much the language of the Malay ethnic group, who made up a little more than half the population. When it became the sole official language on independence in 1957, many non-Malays, including the sizable Chinese and Indian populations, felt disadvantaged, particularly as few of them had facility in it.[6] The change of name to Malaysian in 1967 was part of the campaign to make the language more acceptable to non-Malays, although at a later date official policy was to again refer to the language as Malay.

Knowledge of Malaysian spread quickly once it became the sole language for education. However, the position of English remains strong in Malaysia and many felt that the removal of English as the language of higher education worked to the disadvantage of the nation internationally. In 1993, the government allowed English to be used again as a language of instruction in universities in the interest of science and technology.[7] In 2002, the Malaysian government announced that, from 2003, all maths and science would be taught in English in secondary schools.[8]

Malay also became the national language of the state of Brunei in northern Borneo. This official form of the language varies only in minor ways from Malaysian, and is distinct from Brunei Malay, the traditional Malay dialect of the region, which is the major lingua franca between all ethnic groups in Brunei. English can also be used for official purposes and in schools and the university.[9]

It also became the national language of Singapore and one of the four official languages, along with English, Mandarin and Tamil. In reality, Malay is a minority language in Singapore, Malays constituting about 15 per cent of the population, with the great majority being of Chinese descent. English retains a significant position, being the language of education and the principal language for inter-ethnic communication.

A variety of the language, Pattani Malay, is spoken by more than a million people in southern Thailand and other forms of the language are also spoken by small groups in a number of other countries.[10]

ON THE NAME OF THE LANGUAGE

The name *Bahasa Indonesia* is often used for Indonesian. While this is the name for the language in Indonesian, it is not used here, for the same reason that when speaking English we do not refer to French as *Français*, or German as *Deutsch*, and so on. While these are the native names, they are not the names in English. Similarly, there is a perfectly good English name for the national language of Indonesia, namely 'Indonesian', and this term is used throughout this work, except when quoting others who use *Bahasa Indonesia*.

In Indonesian, *bahasa* means no more than 'language' and is applied to all languages, such as *bahasa Inggris* (English). Moreover, it is not a proper noun and is not spelt with a capital. Indonesian does not have a system of deriving adjectives from nouns, which can then stand alone. A modifying noun must be used, as in *bahasa Indonesia* (language of Indonesia) and *orang Indonesia* (person of Indonesia; an Indonesian). The practice of using the native term does not appear to be applied to other national languages. Thus no one speaks in English of Korean as *Hangungmal*, which means 'language of Korea', having the same structure as the Indonesian. One problem with using *Bahasa Indonesia* is that it is frequently reduced to *Bahasa*, on the assumption that this is the name of the language. This is no different from referring to English as 'Language' and Indonesians normally would not recognise the name *Bahasa* alone as referring to their national language.[11]

FALLACIES AND MISCONCEPTIONS

There are few languages about which there is so much misunderstanding as Indonesian. Negative attitudes to the language abound, probably more so than towards any other Asian language. Most of this results from ignorance about the language and is easily refuted. There are two basic misconceptions; one that it is 'simple', the other that it is 'soulless'.

The myth of simplicity applies not just to Indonesian but to varieties of Malay in general. This misconception basically states that Malay has little grammar and people are quite free to speak it however they wish. The belief was held by many Europeans in colonial days, who were only familiar with simplified lingua franca varieties of Malay, which were no one's mother tongue and were used for limited purposes, such as trade. In the words of one Dutch writer, Malay was 'a mere auxiliary language, only fit for communications of a simple and concrete kind'.[12]

The myth of simplicity is widespread among people who have little or no facility in the language. An Australian naval officer once recommended Malay as a suitable language for sailors to study because 'it can be learned in three weeks'. A travellers' handbook states that 'Indonesian was designed to be simple and streamlined for the masses'[13] and another writer states 'Malay has an extraordinary feature in that it can be greatly simplified, producing a "bazaar Malay" that is perfectly adequate to meet common everyday needs'.[14] It is not usual for 'the masses' to speak some sort of simplified language for their 'common everyday needs' as the above two writers imagine; simplified forms of Malay developed for use between speakers of different languages with limited communication needs, not for use as a first language.

It is a common misconception that the national language of Indonesia arose from 'Bazaar Malay', or even from a pidgin language, and this has led to much of the prejudice against it. One linguist has stated: 'In an independent country, the major example to date of a language originating as a trade jargon and achieving the status of a national language is Indonesian, an outgrowth of Bazaar Malay.'[15] Even some Indonesian scholars have shown confusion about the origins of Standard Indonesian. Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, an outstanding contributor to the status and growth of Indonesian as the national language (see p. 106), wrote that the language had been 'transformed from a pidgin'.[16] In fact the origins of modern Standard Indonesian are actually much more in the literary language of the royal courts of Riau-Johor and southern Sumatra than in the markets and trading ports of the archipelago.

Another Indonesian linguist has written: 'The emergence of Malay as the lingua franca of Indonesia and peninsular Malaya and later its transformation into the national language … was facilitated by …[its] relative simplicity and flexibility'.[17] Not only is the myth of simplicity continued, but also the belief that this was partly responsible for its choice as the national language of Indonesia and Malaysia. The fact is that languages acquire importance because they are in the right place at the right time, not for any linguistic characteristics that they might have. Numerous people have talked confusedly about the reasons English has gained such world importance, claiming, for instance, that 'it embodies the free spirit of the English-speaking people', and so on. English has achieved its place because of the importance achieved by the countries where it is spoken, not because of its own nature. Likewise, Malay, once just another language among hundreds in the archipelago, rose to

prominence for geographic, social and political reasons, not because of linguistic characteristics.

The perception of simplicity accounts in part for its popularity as a school and university subject in Australia, where it is one of the major Asian languages taught. Students who choose Indonesian because it is easy are soon disabused, failing to become fluent 'in three weeks' and rarely even after three years of university study. Much of the 'drop-out' after a brief period studying Indonesian in Australian universities is a result of frustration that expectations of an easy ride were not fulfilled.

Apart from the belief that the language is or has derived from a pidgin, there are several other reasons for the notion that Indonesian is a simple language.

First, compared with other major Asian languages, particularly Chinese and Japanese, Indonesian has a distinct advantage as a LOTE (language other than English) in the education system. Chinese and Japanese have scripts that require an enormous amount of time and effort before the student can acquire advanced reading skills. Indonesian, on the other hand, has a Latin-based script that is not only familiar to the learner but is also phonemically accurate, with one letter or group of letters always representing the one sound, with very few exceptions. The result is that the student need spend next to no time mastering the writing system and can concentrate on actually learning the language. The student of Chinese and Japanese is diverted from studying the language by the need to spend a great deal of time learning written characters. The time that the characters take to master adds to the overall time taken to learn Chinese and Japanese and hence adds to the perception that they are difficult languages. By contrast, Indonesian gets a reputation for simplicity.

Secondly, there are some aspects of Indonesian grammar that allow the learner to quickly acquire 'survival' proficiency, sufficient for communicating about very basic needs. Visitors to Indonesia often acquire this very limited proficiency and, stopping there, assume that the rest is just as easy. But the student soon learns that to acquire general proficiency requires just as much effort as does proficiency in other languages. Among the aspects of grammar that allow the foreign learner to begin using basic language early is absence of tense and aspect markers on verbs. This has led to a quite common belief that the language is unable to express concepts of time and aspect, another of the 'simple language' fallacies. In fact all the complexities of the English verb phrase can be reproduced in natural Indonesian.[18] (It could likewise be pointed

out that a speaker of Latin or Russian, presented with insufficient information on modern English, might suppose that English is incapable of indicating the semantic relationship of nouns to verbs because nouns do not have case endings.)

Linguists generally reject the notion that some natural languages (which excludes pidgins) are more complex or simple than others. 'It is the finding of modern linguistics that all languages are roughly equal in terms of overall complexity'.[19] This applies to Indonesian as well as to any other language. After commenting that the language was 'designed to be simple and streamlined for the masses', the travel book mentioned above states, with considerably more insight: 'But to speak it well it is as difficult and as sophisticated as any of the world's great languages'.[20]

Another factor supporting the simplicity notion can be added here. Indonesians have few expectations that foreigners visiting the country will learn their language. When they meet a visitor making an effort, they are usually most pleased and encouraging. With the addition of a cultural avoidance of criticism, Indonesians tend to be effusive in praise of the struggling foreigner's attempts at their language. *Sudah lancar* (You're fluent) is heard by a great many foreign visitors who can produce a few hesitant phrases. In comparison with native speakers of English and French, who expect proficiency in their language from visitors and who require high standards before they consider using words like 'fluent', Indonesians are extremely tolerant. This leads many learners to believe that they actually are good at the language. It also leads to the fallacy that 'Indonesian has a forgiving syntax'; as long as Indonesians can understand the foreigner they will heap praise, whatever tortures have been inflicted on the grammar of their language, so that 'it doesn't matter how you say it in Indonesian'.

The second myth, that of the 'soulless' language, appears to refer exclusively to standard formal Indonesian, as distinct from other varieties of Malay. As a national language needing to deal with every area of learning in the modern world, Indonesian underwent enormous developments in the 20th century. The changes from Classical Malay to modern Indonesian are striking and deserve objective study. For lovers of older Malay, the modern developments are viewed with horror. Indeed, one great British scholar of Malay, Richard Winstedt, wrote in the preface to his Malay dictionary: 'It is a curious commentary on Indonesian nationalism that along with a rich vocabulary it has accepted a travesty of European syntax based on incompetent translation and quite unknown to daily speech, and by this foreign borrowing has

utterly spoilt the logical clarity of traditional Malay'.[21] This is powerful condemnation, but it has little meaning except to display the author's negativity to a form of the language different from the one he was familiar with and therefore preferred. If Indonesian has 'utterly spoilt the logical clarity of traditional Malay' it is a wonder its speakers can communicate with each other at all! Objectively, the expression can only be understood as meaning 'modern Indonesian has undergone significant grammatical changes'.

Indonesian is sometimes disdained, in speech and writing, as a 'soulless' and alienating language. One writer has referred to it as 'a language of an alienated and bureaucratic intelligentsia' that seems to the Javanese, 'by comparison with their own rich language, peculiarly turgid, humourless, awkward, mechanical and bereft of emotion or sensuality'.[22] Another has written: 'Modern Indonesian has something curiously impersonal and neuter about it, which sets up psychological distances between its speakers'.[23]

The fallacy common to such claims is that only very formal Indonesian is actually Indonesian. The colloquial language used by tens of millions of Indonesians every day is either not recognised as existing or is regarded as something other than a form of Indonesian. Those who have facility in formal Indonesian speak it in appropriate settings; for most of their daily activities they speak more informal variants of the language (if they are not speaking a regional language). Anyone who has spent time with Indonesians can hardly be anything but puzzled at claims that their language is turgid, humourless and bereft of emotion.

The 'soulless' misconception thus can be explained in terms of failure to appreciate the diglossic nature of Indonesian, in which the formal language is significantly different from the colloquial variety of everyday conversation (see p. 121). Indonesian is the language of the home and playground as well as of the bureaucracy. To criticise it in general as 'turgid, humourless, bereft of emotion' and so on, is no more justified than saying the same of English because this is characteristic of the style used in legal documents.

THE TEACHING OF INDONESIAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

As the only variety of the language associated with education, formal Indonesian is also usually considered the only variety worthy of being taught to foreigners; teaching informal speech to foreigners in a formal learning situation would be next to unimaginable to most native-

speaking teachers of the language. The advice 'It is better for a foreign student to err on the correct or even formal side than to employ careless, incorrect or substandard usage'[24] would be echoed by most Indonesian teachers of the language. The negative terms 'careless', 'incorrect' and 'substandard' reflect the attitudes of such teachers and many other educated Indonesians to informal speech, even though they themselves use this style when it is appropriate to the social situation.

As a result, many foreign learners, most of whom study the language in Australia, both at school and tertiary levels, are only aware of the highly stylised variety associated with the most formal situations and are quite uninformed about colloquial forms of the language. It comes as something of a surprise for such learners arriving in Indonesia for the first time to hear the language as actually spoken in informal situations. There are two reactions: either the student assumes that Indonesians cannot speak their own language properly (as is sometimes stated to Indonesians)[25] or, the more frequent reaction, the student expresses dissatisfaction with the way he or she has been taught, claiming that 'real Indonesian' is being ignored.

Both reactions reflect a lack of understanding of the diglossic situation in Indonesia, which is poorly understood by most teachers and hence not conveyed to students. The frequent result of this lack of understanding is that, having unsystematically acquired some informal language on visiting Indonesia, the student proceeds to use (a very imperfect imitation of) it in all situations, oblivious to the solecisms that may occur.

If Indonesian language educators are to effectively address the needs of learners of the language, informal Indonesian must be taught as well as formal Indonesian. Moreover, students must acquire sensitivity to the sociolinguistic situation in Indonesia and an appreciation of the need for style to be appropriate to the social occasion. For this to be possible, teachers must themselves possess such awareness and have the resources to teach effectively. This includes availability of suitable materials for teaching the colloquial language. While there is now a great variety of resources available for the teaching of formal Indonesian, descriptions of informal language currently available to teachers and learners of the language are few and fragmentary, mainly comprising comments on some grammatical points where it differs from formal Indonesian. Such treatments offer no detailed or consistent description and minimal discussion of contextual appropriateness.[26]

In Australia in recent years there has been a greater willingness on the part of some teachers to introduce students to the informal variant

(although many non-native teachers themselves have little or no facility in it). Nevertheless, development of a sensitivity to the social appropriateness of different styles is considerably more difficult than some proponents of the teaching of informal Indonesian in schools and universities imagine. In particular, the attitudes of Indonesians themselves to the type of Indonesian they expect foreigners to speak is rarely taken into consideration. Most older people are likely to expect more formal language use from foreigners than they themselves use on most occasions. This perhaps reflects the attitude that colloquial speech is inferior and not worthy of teaching to foreigners, and therefore should not be used by them. Others may regard it as an in-group code not for use by outsiders. On the other hand, many people with poor proficiency in formal language feel alienated from it and are much happier for foreigners to 'speak like us'. Students and other youths are more likely to expect greater use of informal language from visiting youths from other countries. This is a topic that deserves serious study in any development of policy on Indonesian language teaching.

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

The book traces the historical development of the language up to the present, with identifiable periods in the past assigned to separate chapters. The later chapters consider its position within Indonesian society in the modern period.

Malay/Indonesian is a member of the large Austronesian language family. One group of Austronesians settled in western Borneo and it is from this group that the Malayic languages, of which Malay is a member, developed. Chapter 2 considers the origins and migrations of the Austronesian people and the emergence of the Malayic subgroup.

The ancestors of the Malays travelled to southeast Sumatra, where they eventually built powerful kingdoms, as discussed in Chapter 3. It was in the kingdom of Srivijaya that the earliest known Malay inscriptions were made. Dating from the late 7th century, these inscriptions are the first direct information that we have on the Malay language. During this Old Malay period, the kingdoms were Hinduised and many Indian influences appeared in the language.

As trade flourished throughout the archipelago, Srivijaya eventually gave way to Islamised kingdoms, as described in Chapter 4. There followed the period of Classical Malay and the literary court style, which was eventually to have such a strong influence on the emerging national language.

The Portuguese appeared in Southeast Asia at the beginning of the 16th century and European influence in the archipelago thereafter was considerable. Chapter 5 covers the influence of European languages and the contribution of the Dutch to the emergence of a standard form of the language.

Early in the 20th century, nationalists in the Dutch East Indies were beginning to contribute to the direction of the language's development, as described in Chapter 6. By the time of independence, the language was ready to assume its role as sole national and official language of the new nation.

Chapter 7 covers language planning and the influence of official policy on the language, from independence to the present. It also discusses the diglossic nature of the language, characterised by significantly different high and low varieties.

There have been other contributions to the shaping of the modern language, operating outside, and sometimes in conflict with, the official planning program, including the influence of former president Sukarno and the mass media. Other languages, both foreign and regional, have also contributed greatly to the development of the modern language. These influences are considered in Chapter 8.

In recent decades, English has exerted an increasingly strong influence on Indonesian, both formal and informal, much to the consternation of purists. The influence of English is discussed in Chapter 9.

Use of Indonesian continues to spread at the expense of regional languages. Many minor languages are in danger of extinction as the number of people monolingual in the national language increases. Chapter 10 looks at the spread of Indonesian, including information from censuses. It concludes with brief conjecture on the future state of the language.

2

MALAY AND THE AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

THE AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

The Malay language, of which Indonesian is a variety, is a member of the Austronesian language family, a large group of languages all descended from a common ancestor. The name for the family, Austronesian, is made up of Greek formatives meaning 'southern islands'. Terms like 'family', 'ancestor' and 'descent' usually refer to the way people are related to each other through common ancestors and, to some extent, the analogy is valid. Languages, however, do not produce descendants before dying, but rather change gradually over time.

A casual inspection of basic vocabulary in Malay and Pacific island languages reveals many words that sound similar and have similar meanings. Table 2.1 provides a sample of related words in Malay and three Pacific Ocean languages.

Table 2.1
Related words in Malay and Pacific Ocean languages

	MALAY	TONGAN	SAMOAN	TAHITIAN
cry	*tangis*	*tangi*	*tangi*	*ta'i*
louse	*kutu*	*kutu*	*'utu*	*'utu*
eye	*mata*	*mata*	*mata*	*mata*
two	*dua*	*ua*	*lua*	*rua* (archaic)
sky	*langit*	*langi*	*langi*	*ra'i*
fish	*ikan*	*ika*	*i'a*	*i'a*
liver	*hati*	*'ate*	*ate*	—
ear	*telinga*	*telinga*	*talinga*	*tari'a*

Chance similarities in sound and meaning can occur between any two languages. But chance resemblance cannot account for the systematic similarities in the list above and this points, even to the casual observer, to some sort of relationship between Malay and the Pacific island languages. One can see a number of differences between Malay and the Pacific languages in the list. But even these differences are systematic. Thus where Malay has *k*, Tongan and Tahitian have *'* (which represents the glottal stop, like the catch in 'uh-uh'), where Malay has *ng* Tahitian has *'* (glottal stop) and where Malay has *l* Tahitian has *r*.

Over time, all living languages undergo change; they change in their vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar. Usually the changes are so slow that they are not obvious at any given time or even over a longer time, such as a generation, except to the careful observer. Sometimes change is much faster, as can occur in periods of social upheaval. But almost inevitably change will be clearly noticeable in a language over a longer period, such as 200 years, provided written records are available so that the language at the two periods can be compared.

When there is no direct witness to a language spoken in a previous age, because there are no written records, information on it is inferred by comparing recorded languages which have descended from it. Thus by comparing the words in the list above, and many other similar sets, we can gain a considerable amount of understanding of the ancestor of these languages. When a parent language, an ancestral form spoken in the past, is only known by a comparative study of descendant languages, it is called a proto-language. The ancestral language of Malay and its relatives is known as Proto-Austronesian and the languages are members of the Austronesian family.

It is sometimes possible to reconstruct some of the features of ancestral languages. These are usually a set of words and a sound system. If there is sufficient good evidence, it may also be possible to reconstruct some characteristics of the grammar of the proto-language. Comparative linguistics may also provide information on the culture of the people who spoke the proto-language. If daughter languages share common words for certain cultural items, these may reflect words in the proto-language, indicating that these items existed when the parent language was spoken.

By a comparative study of Malay and other Austronesian languages, scholars have been able to discover a great deal about their relationships, determining subgroups, and reconstructing a considerable amount of the vocabulary of their common ancestor, Proto-Austronesian.

One factor hampering progress in determining relationships within the Austronesian family and in reconstructing ancestral forms is the fact that comparativists have access to very little written material from previous times. In studying the Indo-European languages, scholars have access to writings from Sanskrit and Greek dating from almost 3000 years ago and for Latin from considerably more than 2000 years ago, as well as from other ancient languages. This has given them a head start in reconstructing Proto-Indo-European; witnesses to that language from 2000 years ago had undergone much less change than present-day languages and thus provide much more high-quality evidence, and in considerable abundance, for what the parent language was like.

For the Austronesian languages, there is very little written evidence from earlier stages of the languages. The oldest written sources are in Malay (apart from one very short fragment in the Cham language), comprising inscriptions from the end of the 7th century AD. Unfortunately, these Malay inscriptions are very fragmentary and offer extremely little information. Considerably more information comes from Old Javanese from several centuries later. There are no written records for any other Austronesian language until about 500 years ago and then very little. For the vast majority of languages, there were no writings until comparatively recent times and linguists have had to rely on wordlists and grammatical descriptions collected from the modern languages, which preserve much less from the original parent language than languages from 2000 years ago would have provided had written sources been available.

Nevertheless, it has been possible for scholars to reconstruct a surprising amount about the nature of Proto-Austronesian and work continues, enabling a gradual building up of a more complete and accurate picture of the interrelationships between the languages in the family and of Proto-Austronesian itself.[1]

The Austronesian family today is estimated to contain slightly more than 1000 languages. Austronesian languages thus account for up to 20 per cent of the 5000–6000 languages estimated to be spoken in the world today. (This compares with fewer than 150 present-day languages in the Indo-European family, to which English belongs.) It also extends over a truly vast portion of the globe, more so than any other language family (excluding movements of Europeans to the Americas, southern Africa and Australasia in recent centuries). Austronesian languages are found from Madagascar in the west to Easter Island in the east, a distance of 15 000 kilometres, and from Taiwan and Hawaii in the north to New Zealand in the south.

Despite the large number of languages in the family and the enormous area that they cover, the number of speakers of Austronesian languages is actually very small, being fewer than 300 million.[2] The majority of speakers of these languages are found in just two countries, Indonesia and the Philippines. The eastern half of the Austronesian area consists almost exclusively of small islands and island groups, with languages typically having only a few thousand or even a few hundred speakers. Fewer than three million people are speakers of Oceanic languages. Only 25 Austronesian languages today have more than a million speakers, all of them spoken in the Southeast Asian archipelago, with the exception of the Malagasy language of Madagascar.

Indonesian has by far the largest number of speakers of any Austronesian language, with an estimated 180 million at the beginning of the 21st century. However, most of these are second-language speakers, using another language in the home, as discussed in Chapter 10. By far the largest of the Austronesian languages in terms of first-language speakers, is Javanese, with about 75 million and possibly 80 million speakers. Next is Sundanese, spoken in the western third of the island of Java, with about 28 million speakers. Cebuano in the Philippines has 12 million and Tagalog has 11 million speakers. As Tagalog is the basis for the Philippines national language, Filipino, it is now spoken or understood by almost 70 per cent of the Philippine population. By contrast, Samoan and Fijian, the largest of the Oceanic languages, are spoken by just 200 000 people each. Tongan and Tahitian have about 90 000 and 70 000 speakers respectively. Numbers of speakers of varieties of Malay, spread over numerous countries, are difficult to determine, as discussed in Chapter 10.

PROTO-AUSTRONESIAN AND ITS DESCENDANTS

While there are still many gaps in our understanding of the Austronesian family, and thus many controversies, there is a fair amount of consensus on a number of basic factors. The parent of the language family, Proto-Austronesian, is believed to have been spoken in Taiwan about 6000 years ago. Its speakers were successful agriculturalists, being descendants of people who participated in the development of millet and rice agriculture in central and eastern China — in the lower Yangzi and Yellow River basins — by about 6000 BC.[3]

Agriculture led to population growth in China and the subsequent spreading of agricultural people at the expense of hunter-gatherers. The archaeological record provides dates for this initial expansion of

between 5000 and 4000 BC. This accords well with the linguistic estimates of the length of time needed for diversification. Some people with agricultural economy moved across the Formosa Strait from the Chinese mainland to Taiwan in the period 4000–3500 BC. It may be that Proto-Austronesian was spoken on the Chinese mainland, its speakers then crossing the sea to Taiwan. Alternatively, the language originated in Taiwan following the migration. In either case, the ancestral language of the 1000 or so present-day Austronesian languages was spoken in Taiwan by 3500 BC and possibly as early as 4000 BC.

Other linguistic groups in Southeast Asia also appear to have descended from participants in the development of agriculture in southern China. These are the Austro-Asiatic peoples, whose languages include Khmer (Cambodian), Vietnamese and the Aslian languages spoken in the interior of the Malay Peninsula, and the Tai-Kadai peoples, whose languages include Thai and Lao. A hypothesis that the Austronesian and Austro-Asiatic languages form two branches of a larger grouping, called Austric, was first proposed in 1906 and is supported by a number of scholars. Some other scholars favour a link with the Tai-Kadai languages in an Austro-Tai superfamily. While some researchers believe that the evidence for one or other of these links is strong, others are sceptical. The fact is that the enormous time that has passed since the proposed parent languages, Proto-Austric and Proto-Austro-Tai, would have been spoken has resulted in such large-scale language change that evidence for the relationships is very tenuous. Nevertheless, some scholars continue to search for evidence of an Austric or Austro-Tai superfamily.[4]

Much can be said from linguistic evidence about the way of life and material culture of the early inhabitants of Taiwan. Where related languages contain cognates — words directly inherited from the ancestral language, as shown in Table 2.1 — this is strong evidence that the item referred to was known to the speakers of the parent language. For instance, the words *rumah* in Malay, *lumaq* in the Bunan language of Taiwan, and *ruma* in the Arose language of Solomon Islands in the western Pacific, all mean 'house'.[5] When sets of related words such as these, called cognate sets, occur in widely separated languages that are most unlikely to share similarity as a result of borrowing, they provide strong evidence that the item can be reconstructed for the parent language. In this case, with evidence from considerably more languages and after careful reconstruction of the Proto-Austronesian sound system, the word **Rumaq* (house) has been reconstructed for

Proto-Austronesian (where capital *R* probably represents a sound produced at the back of the mouth, rather like French 'r'). The asterisk before a form indicates that it is reconstructed on the basis of comparative evidence and not from the direct evidence of written records. Not only can we say, not surprisingly, that these people had houses, but we can say quite a lot more about their houses from the linguistic evidence. Houses were rather substantial, being built of timber, on raised posts and with a roof containing a ridgepole and covered with thatch, probably of sago leaf. The people made pots, wove cloth on a loom, and had domesticated pigs and dogs. The linguistic evidence is clear that they cultivated rice, cognates for 'riceplant, rice in the field, unhusked rice' occurring in a great many Austronesian languages, such as Malay *padi*, Paiwan (Taiwan) *padai*, Kankanay (Philippines) *pagey*, Li'o (Flores, eastern Indonesia) *pare*, Numfor (Irian Jaya) *fas*. From these has been reconstructed Proto-Austronesian **pajay*. (Rice cultivation was lost in the Pacific, so no native words for rice occur in those languages.)

The linguistic evidence is supported by archaeological evidence, which points to a rice-growing civilisation in Taiwan by 3000 BC. (This date does not preclude its earlier occurrence in Taiwan, but archaeological evidence is apparently lacking.) A great many other items can be reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian on the evidence of the present-day languages, giving information of the environment and culture of the people. They cultivated millet and were familiar with rattan, bamboo, taro and sugarcane. They had an elaborate rice culture, distinguishing 'growing rice', 'husked rice', and 'cooked rice'. They winnowed rice and made use of the stubble.

The most widely accepted theory about the early divisions in the Austronesian languages suggests that the population in Taiwan broke into four groups at an early date. About 20 Austronesian languages are spoken in Taiwan today; these are the Formosan languages, which appear not to be a single group but rather three separate groups of Austronesian languages. According to this theory, one of the four groups of Austronesians moved to the south of Taiwan and from there to the island of Luzon in northern Philippines, leaving the other three groups as 'stay-at-homes', referred to collectively as Formosans. Those who left, probably about 3000 BC, are now referred to as the Malayo-Polynesians.

The earliest splitting of the Austronesian languages is shown in Figure 2.1, with the three branches on the left representing the three Formosan groups.[6]

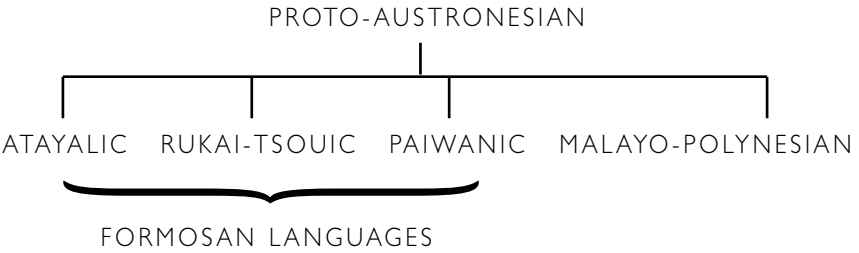


Figure 2.1
Major divisions in the Austronesian language family

As the Malayo-Polynesians travelled, they carried with them their material and social culture, although this subsequently underwent changes in different places. The further from Taiwan they travelled the later archaeological remains, such as pottery, can be dated, giving a picture of a gradual expansion of the people from one island to another over thousands of years. This strongly supports the linguistic evidence for the dispersal of these people. The earliest archaeological remains, such as pottery and evidence of rice cultivation, are dated from 2000 to 1500 BC for Borneo and Sulawesi and from 1500 BC for western Melanesia.

Comparison of Malayo-Polynesian languages reveals that their ancestors possessed a relatively advanced maritime technology. Their ocean voyages in dug-out canoes with outriggers and triangular sails have rightly been called true epic journeys. It is possible that the outrigger canoe complex existed in earlier times, although this technology cannot be reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian because related seafaring terminology does not occur in the Formosan languages. This may be because the technology was not developed until after the break-up of Proto-Austronesian, when the Malayo-Polynesians commenced their travels from Taiwan. It is also possible that the Formosan languages lost a complex vocabulary dealing with seafaring. Beginning in the 17th century, there was increasing immigration of Chinese from the mainland to Taiwan, with the consequence that Formosan aboriginal groups were pushed from coastal areas into the mountains. Here they had no use for seafaring and vocabulary relating to their earlier seafaring culture would have eventually been lost.

What is now the Philippines was the second geographical area to be settled by ancestors of the Malayo-Polynesian peoples. When they

entered this area, they were moving into a warmer region than Taiwan. A great many words occur throughout the Malayo-Polynesian world, reflecting innovations in their ancestral language that are absent from the more northerly Formosan languages. These include many words for tropical foodstuffs. Widely dispersed words for taro, breadfruit, banana, yam, sago, coconut and so on indicate that these became known to the Malayo-Polynesians before their first dispersal in the Philippines.

From here the Malayo-Polynesians dispersed in several directions, beginning about 2500 BC, at a rate that was one of the most rapid on record from the prehistoric agricultural world.[7] According to the strongest subgrouping theory at present, they broke into two groups. One group, called Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP), entered Borneo, with subsequent movement into the western parts of the Indonesian archipelago. The other group, called Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (CEMP), moved southeast from the Philippines and entered the northern Moluccas.

CEMP apparently split into two subgroups. One subgroup, called Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP), moved to the southern Moluccas and from there to the Lesser Sunda Islands, eventually occupying almost all the islands of eastern Indonesia, except the island of New Guinea, westward as far as Sumbawa. The other subgroup, Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (EMP), moved eastward to the northwest tip of New Guinea. Proto-EMP split into two daughter languages, Proto-South Halmahera-West New Guinea (SHWNG) and Proto-Oceanic.

The splitting up of the Malayo-Polynesian languages is shown in Figure 2.2.[8]

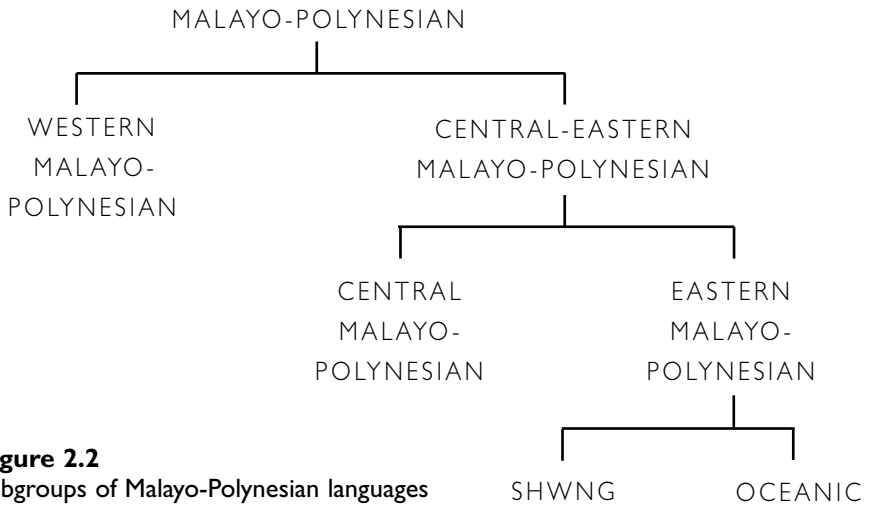


Figure 2.2
Subgroups of Malayo-Polynesian languages

The SHWNG languages remained in the vicinity of Halmahera, in the northern Moluccas, and the northwest coast of New Guinea. The ancestors of the Oceanic language speakers moved further east, passing along the north coast of New Guinea. However, the island was already inhabited by Papuans (speakers of non-Austronesian languages) and the Oceanic speech community had few opportunities for settlement there except in some isolated spots on the coast. This situation is reflected today, with Austronesian languages occupying only a few coastal regions of the island. They probably settled in the New Britain/New Ireland area about 2000 BC and remained in this area for some considerable time. All the Oceanic languages share a number of phonological and grammatical changes which suggest that their ancestral language underwent a relatively long period of isolation before dispersal.

There was probably a rapid expansion eastward after that, into island Melanesia. Some Oceanic people travelled to the Solomons and other Melanesian islands and then further eastward, reaching Fiji about 1200 BC. Oceanic peoples also travelled north to the islands of Micronesia. About 1000 BC, the ancestors of the Polynesians moved eastward from Tonga. They spread first to Samoa and then, in various movements, occupied the Pacific islands as far southeast as Easter Island and, in remarkable voyages, spread north to Hawaii and finally southwest to New Zealand about 1000 years ago. The Polynesians, 'the ultimate wanderers',[9] had travelled as far as they could; east of Hawaii and Easter Island lay 3000 kilometres of ocean before the American mainland.

The speakers of the languages of the western branch of Malayo-Polynesian languages occupied the Philippines and then moved south, entering northwest Borneo between 2500 and 2000 BC.

It is far from clear that the WMP languages, of which Malay is one, do in fact form a single group. While the higher subdivisions within the Eastern Malayo-Polynesian group have been quite clearly revealed by comparative study, the same has not been the case in the west. This has led some scholars to believe that they are simply the descendants of those languages, in a number of primary Malayo-Polynesian groups, which stayed behind in the Philippines and Borneo when migrations to the east began, just as the Formosan languages are the descendants of different groups that stayed behind in Taiwan. On the island of Borneo today there are ten distinct groups of WMP languages, no two of which appear to be more closely related to each other than to other groups outside Borneo.[10]

It has been hypothesised that after radiation of languages throughout Borneo an extensive population movement from southwest Borneo occurred. WMP peoples occupied parts of Sumatra and the islands of Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa. In Sumbawa, they came into contact with CMP people moving west. The island is now occupied in the west by the Sumbawa language of the WMP group and in the east by Bima of the CMP group and marks the boundary between the two. At a later date, some peoples of another group, speaking Malayo-Chamic languages, settled in the island of Sumatra and large parts of the coast of mainland Southeast Asia, as far north as the Gulf of Tonkin. This dialect complex eventually differentiated into a northern group and a southern group. The northern group gave rise to the Chamic languages in Vietnam and Cambodia. The Chamic languages are today spoken by small hill-dwelling communities, surrounded by Vietnamese and Khmers. The languages are descendants of Cham, the language of the powerful Indianised kingdom of Champa, which was destroyed by the invading Vietnamese in AD 1471. In the 10th century AD, one group of Chamic people, ancestors of the Acehnese, moved to the northern tip of Sumatra. The southern group of Malayo-Chamic languages includes the Malayic languages, to be discussed below, and other languages, such as Madurese, Sundanese and possibly Javanese, although this language may instead link with Balinese.

The most distant of the WMP languages is Malagasy, spoken on the island of Madagascar, off the east coast of southern Africa. The relationship of this language to Malay was identified by Frederick de Houtman, a Dutch sailor, in 1603, long before the concept of genetic relationships among languages was really understood. Malagasy has been convincingly identified as a member of the Barito group of languages of Borneo. The usual assumption is that the ancestors of the Madagascans sailed from Borneo about the 5th century AD. However, one scholar suggests that they must have arrived later, because their language contains not only borrowings from Malay and Javanese but also Sanskrit words borrowed via Malay; consequently, they must have journeyed to Madagascar after considerable Indian influence on the Malays.[11]

THE MALAYIC LANGUAGES

Malay is a member of the sub-branch of Western Malayo-Polynesian languages now referred to as the Malayic group, descendants of Proto-Malayic.[12] The greatest diversity of Malayic languages is found in west-

ern Borneo, strongly suggesting it was the homeland of speakers of the ancestral Malayic language. As one writer puts it, they 'occupied a specific ecological niche: the swamps, wetlands, deltas and shores of the complex riverine system of western Borneo. This settlement pattern allowed them to maintain and develop their sailing technology'.[13]

Their advanced seamanship allowed some speakers of Proto-Malayic to sail westward to Sumatra, not much more than 2000 years ago. Those remaining in west Borneo were the ancestors of speakers of the Malayic Dayak languages, including Iban (sometimes in earlier writings referred to as Sea Dayak), Salako and Kendayan. Those who moved to Sumatra settled on the east coast and later in the interior of the southern part of the island. Here developed Malay and its closest relatives, including Central (or Middle) Malay (a number of very closely related dialects, including Besemah and Seraway), Minangkabau and Kerinci. These are strikingly similar to Malay in structure and vocabulary, although some have undergone considerable changes in their phonology.

Minangkabau, Kerinci and Central Malay developed from inland and west coast dialects, while dialects spoken on the east coast of southern Sumatra and on some off-shore islands gave rise to Malay itself. Some time later, Malay speakers established colonies on the nearby Malay Peninsula. Later, some Malays migrated back to Borneo, where they made settlements in numerous river estuaries around the coast of much of the island. These Malay dialects are distinct from the indigenous Malayic Dayak languages, the languages of the people whose ancestors did not travel to Sumatra. It is probable that many coastal Dayaks were absorbed into the Malay-speaking communities; Malay-speakers in Borneo are thus not all descendants of people who returned from Sumatra. Today, a number of Malay dialects are found in coastal regions of Borneo, such as Banjarese, Kutai Malay, Sarawak Malay and Brunei Malay.

3

OLD MALAY

THE BEGINNING OF INDIAN INFLUENCE

The development of Malay as a lingua franca throughout the Indonesian archipelago and its subsequent emergence as a national language was a fortuitous result of its geographical position on the sea route through the Straits of Malacca. Two thousand years ago, the speakers of the Malayic language who had travelled from Borneo had spread along much of the coast of south-eastern Sumatra. At a later date, some of these people moved to the interior of southern Sumatra, where their dialects gave rise to Minangkabau, Kerinci and Central Malay. But it was the dialects spoken in the lower river courses in eastern Sumatra and off-shore islands that gave rise to Malay.

The first event leading to the spread of Malay was probably the establishment of sea trade with India. It is not known precisely when contact first occurred with India, but it has usually been supposed to be about or shortly after the beginning of the Christian era, although the recent discovery in Java and Bali of Indian pottery possibly dating from as early as 200 BC may push back that date.[1] There is much uncertainly about the terms of the original commerce between India and Indonesia, although it is probable that pepper from Sumatra was important from early on and camphor was traded to India before the 4th century.

It was assumed by earlier historians that the Malays were passive partners in their trade relations with India, that much of their progress was a result of Indian influence and that there were large Indian settlements, perhaps even kingdoms, in Sumatra. It is probable that contact was made by Indian traders in the first instance, but the Malays

must have been active partners in subsequent trading.[2] They were excellent sailors, as their Austronesian background and recent travel from Borneo would suggest. Living in settlements around river estuaries, they were in touch with the outside world and soon became active traders, if they had not already been so before leaving Borneo. One historian has written: 'In prehistoric times Malays had probably played their part in the barter trade which brought knowledge of metal from the coast of Indo-China to the hinterland of Sumatra. At the dawn of recorded Indonesian history this coast may already have become a trading centre'.[3] Early in the Christian era, there was a great increase in the number of traders voyaging between India and Southeast Asia and before AD 500 much of the archipelago, stretching up into the Philippines, 'was perhaps a zone of continuously-flourishing inter-island travel and trade'.[4]

It is thus unlikely the Malays needed to learn much from Indians about trade and sailing. Despite many borrowed words from Sanskrit in Malay, there are no nautical terms from that source and very few dealing with trade. There were no significant Indian settlements in Indonesia; nor was there, despite the cultural influence, any political domination of the area.

The earliest direct evidence for Indian cultural influence in the archipelago is from further east, in the region of Kutai in southeast Borneo, in the present-day Indonesian province of East Kalimantan. This consists of inscriptions on seven stone pillars known as *yupas* (sacrificial posts).[5] These inscriptions are in Sanskrit, the old language of northern India, which became the religious language of Hinduism and Buddhism. They are written in the Pallava script, a south Indian version of the Brahmi script of northern India, from which most modern Indian and Southeast Asian scripts, such as the Javanese and Thai scripts, have derived. Although the inscriptions are not dated, they are estimated on palaeographical grounds to be from about AD 400 or slightly earlier. If the inscriptions are to be believed, they point to a quite large Hindu kingdom with many brahman priests. The inscriptions refer to King Mulawarman, his conquest of other kings and his gift of large numbers of cattle to the priests. Other archaeological remains in the region, such as Hindu and Buddhist images, also attest to the Indian influence.

If an Indianised kingdom could exist in southeast Borneo before AD 400, there can be no doubt there was even stronger influence in Sumatra. Clearly, considerable contact had been long established between western Indonesia and India by that time. While traders played

a part in the spread of the Indian influence, it was Hindu and Buddhist monks who were the main disseminators of Indian civilisation in the region. Through their influence, Indian concepts of royalty and statehood were introduced, with rulers embracing either Hinduism or Buddhism and adopting Sanskrit as their ritual language.

THE MALAYS AND THE GROWTH OF TRADE

With the commencement of sea trade between the Indian Ocean and the archipelago, the geographical position of the Malays began to work to their advantage. Vessels that came from India on the southwest monsoon were forced to remain in the region for several months until they could sail home with the northeast winds towards the end of the year. During this period, they required harbours in which to discharge their cargoes, engage in trade and to refit and repair vessels.[6] There was no more suitable place for these activities than the Straits of Malacca, the narrow strip of sheltered sea between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Here there were numerous river estuaries with Malay settlements offering the required facilities.

Any enterprising local ruler could take advantage of the situation by imposing port dues, thus profiting from visiting ships. Regulation of trade required the development of an effective administration and would have led to the growth of more powerful states than those of traditional small-scale Malay society. Here the Indianisation of Malay polities was important; the introduction of Indian concepts of royalty enabled the development of states with specialised bureaucracies and the powers to maintain allegiance by force.[7] Increasing wealth allowed the emergence of a leisured class, centred around the king and his royal court. Writing was introduced, perhaps brought first by Indian merchants, but with more systematic dissemination of literacy by Hindu brahmans and Buddhist monks. Their influence on palace life in various Sumatran kingdoms must have been strong by the 4th century, as it already was in the Borneo kingdom in present-day Kutai.

Trade with China commenced somewhat later than with India. India–China trade had originally been overland, but this was disrupted in the 4th century when northern China was overrun by barbarians, forcing the Chinese government to move further south. The Chinese then needed sea routes to market opportunities, and Malay seafarers were ready to take advantage of this need. In the 4th century, 'Indonesian ships were pioneering the voyage across the South China Sea. Their cargoes were normally of foreign origin and their passengers

must have included foreigners, but the ships and crews were Indonesian'.[8] Chinese records show that, by the year AD 430, several kingdoms in western Indonesia were regularly sending missions to China and that trade between China and the region was developing. With the growth of Chinese trade, both with states in Southeast Asia and with India, there was increased demand for port facilities in the Straits of Malacca.

Chinese records refer to a kingdom called *Kan-t'o-li*, probably in Sumatra, although its location is not known, which contributed significantly to the expansion of western Indonesian commerce when it developed trade links with southern China. By the middle of the 6th century, *Kan-t'o-li* was in decline and in the following century a kingdom named Melayu sent a mission to China. Melayu — the origin of the name *Melayu* (Malay) — was located on the Jambi River, somewhat north of the Musi River on which the present-day city of Palembang is located.

SRIVIJAYA

The earliest direct evidence for the existence of an Indianised state in Sumatra are a number of stone inscriptions and the writings of a Chinese Buddhist monk, both from the late 7th century.

The inscriptions are from the Buddhist kingdom of Srivijaya and date from AD 682 to 686, although the first of them was only discovered late in the 19th century. These are written in Malay, the earliest direct evidence that we have of the language. With the exception of brief 4th-century fragments in the Cham language, these constitute the earliest known writing in any Austronesian language, predating the earliest known Javanese inscriptions by several decades. The Malay inscriptions, like those of Kutai, are in Pallava script. Of the six inscriptions, three are from present-day Palembang, one from further north in Jambi, one from further south in Lampung and one from the island of Bangka.

Unfortunately, no later inscriptions from Srivijaya have been found. This contrasts with Old Javanese, for which hundreds of inscriptions have been found, dating from a period of more than six centuries, from the earliest of AD 804, which give detailed insight into the Old Javanese language of the Indianised kingdoms of East and Central Java.

The Srivijaya inscriptions have been recognised as being in a language that, from the time of their discovery, has been called Old Malay. There has been debate about the relationship of this language to modern Malay. Whether it was directly ancestral or not is uncertain; there have been many varieties of Malay, with divergence and convergence

throughout its history, and it would be difficult to establish a direct ancestral link between a 7th-century variety and any variety of 1000 and more years later. Nevertheless, it is generally accepted that the Old Malay of the Srivijaya inscriptions is more closely linked to modern Malay than to any other language.[9]

One striking feature of the language in the inscriptions is the great number of Sanskrit words. The inscriptions were composed by Buddhist monks and the use of Sanskrit expresses their deep religion, the holy language enhancing the strength and efficacy of the messages. However, it would be wrong to assume that the language of the inscriptions reflects the spoken language of Srivijaya. It is unlikely that most of the Sanskrit words would have been intelligible to more than a few people besides the monks and scribes. Thus the Sanskrit words do not represent borrowing into Malay and most of them never appear in later writings. Nevertheless they reveal considerable Sanskrit influence on the language at this early stage; clearly, Sanskrit words were already beginning to enter the Malay language. The inscriptions deal with various matters; one commemorates the foundation of a public park, while another calls down curses on the inhabitants if they disobey the king.[10]

The earliest of the six, the inscription of AD 682, was discovered in the village of Kedukan Bukit in Palembang in 1920. It tells of a large-scale expedition, possibly of conquest, although there has been debate about the significance of the expedition and the location of the conquered land.[11] The text of the inscription, the earliest known example of Malay, is given on page 38, together with a translation. Scholars have found some words difficult to identify or interpret and there are differing opinions on how to translate some sections of the text. Thus one segment is interpreted as *laghu mudita* (light-hearted joyful) by one scholar (followed below), but as *laghu mudik* (sail upriver) by another. The word-for-word gloss given here thus does not always coincide with the meaning of the full text provided. There are also different Romanisations of the Pallava script. In particular, a mid-central vowel /ə/ (called 'schwa' by linguists — the sound represented by the letter 'e' in English 'enough') did not occur in Sanskrit and this sound was represented by 'a' in the inscriptions or was not indicated; in this version, /ə/ is represented by the letter 'e', as it is in modern Indonesian. The 'b' sound was represented by the Sanskrit symbol for 'v'. The inscription is damaged in parts, indicated by dots, while one missing segment, in square brackets, has been restored in line with a similar segment on another of the inscriptions.[12] Sanskrit elements are in bold italics; the other words are Malay.

Svasti ***Syrī*** ***Syakavarsātīta*** *604* ***ekadasyī*** ***syuklapaksa*** *vulan*
prosperity fortune *syaka* (era) elapsed eleventh waxing-half month

Vaisyākha *dapunta hiyang nāyik* *di sāmvau* *mengalap* ***siddhayātra***
lord god ascend in boat obtain successful expedition

Di ***saptamī*** ***syuklapaksa*** *vulan* ***Jyestha*** *dapunta hiyang merlepas dari*
on seventh waxing-half month lord god depart from

Minānga Tāmvan memāva yang ***vala*** *dua* ***laksa*** *dengan … dua ratus*
take army two 10 000 with two hundred

cara *di samvau dengan jālan sarivu* *telu rātus* *sapulu dua*
journey in boat with walk one-thousand three hundred ten two

vañyakñya *dātang di mataja …* ***sukhacitta***
their number arrive at (?) happy

Di ***pancami*** ***syuklapaksa*** *vula[n* ***Asādha****] … laghu* ***mudita*** *dātang*
on fifth waxing-half month light-hearted joyful arrive

mervuat vanua …. ***Syrī vijaya jaya*** ***siddhayātra*** ***subhiksa*** *…*
make settlement victorious successful expedition wealthy

TRANSLATION:

> Prosperity! Good Fortune! In the expired year 604 *Syaka*, the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month *Vaisyakha* (23 April 682), our divine Lord embarked to carry out a successful expedition. On the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month *Jyestha* (19 May 682), our divine Lord left Minanga Tamban; he led an army of twenty thousand [men] plus two hundred following by ship, and one thousand three hundred and twelve [men] by land. All arrived at … satisfied at heart. The fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month *Asadha* (16 June 682) … light-hearted, joyous, arrived to make the country … Srivijaya, victorious, successful in his expedition, endowed with plenty …

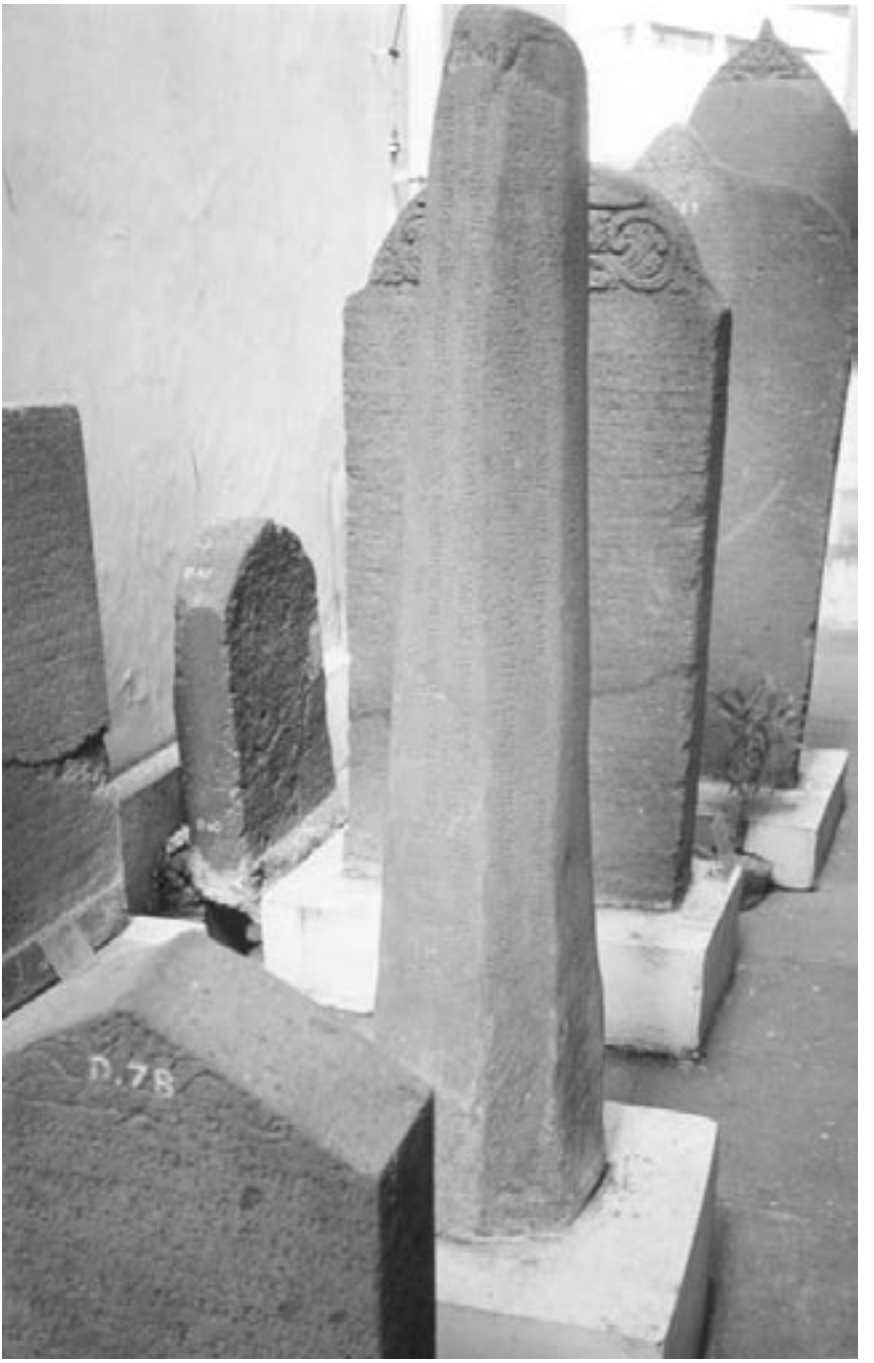


Figure 3.1
The Kota Kapur inscription (Bangka Island, AD 686) stands neglected in Jakarta's Central Museum.

The number of Sanskrit words is considerable, but very few were absorbed into Malay. The only word that can be said to be a regular part of modern Indonesian is *sukacita* (joy, happiness), the formant *suka* (like; pleasure) also being an everyday word. Some other words occur in restricted contexts, including some of the numbers, particularly *panca* (five), as in *Pancasila* (Five Principles), the state motto of Indonesia, and *bala* (army), which occurs in a few compounds, like *Bala Keselamatan* (Salvation Army). Some of the Malay words are obsolete, like *minanga* (estuary) and *telu* (three), which still occur in related languages. There are also archaic features of verb morphology. Thus prefix *mer-* in *merlepas* and *mervuat* is *ber-* in the modern language. In the text, *sapuluh dua* (literally 'ten two') occurs for 'twelve', whereas the modern language has *dua belas* (literally 'two teen').

The second source of information on Srivijaya is the writings of a Chinese Buddhist monk, I-tsing.[13] He stopped at Srivijaya, which the Chinese called *Che-li-fo-che*, in the year AD 671 on his way to India from China. He was so impressed with the city that he stayed there for six months, studying Sanskrit, before continuing his journey. He reported that Srivijaya was a fortified city with more than 1000 Buddhist monks and recommended the place as a suitable centre for Chinese Buddhists to study before proceeding to India. I-tsing stayed at Srivijaya again, between 685 and 689, on his way back to China, translating Buddhist texts from Sanskrit into Chinese.

The inscriptions and the writings of I-tsing reveal a large and powerful kingdom in the second half of the 7th century. Clearly, it had its origins much earlier and had been under Indian influence for centuries. It must have been in this time that Srivijaya, situated on the Musi river where the city of Palembang now stands, began to succeed at the expense of rival kingdoms.[14] By the middle of the 7th century, it had established itself as the dominant trading power in western Indonesia. After leaving Srivijaya in 671, I-tsing stayed for two months in Melayu, on the Jambi River, north of the Musi River. He wrote that, on his return from India, Melayu had become part of Srivijaya. This seems to point to Srivijaya's subjugation of its rival and a consolidation of its power.

SRIVIJAYA'S POWER AND THE SPREAD OF MALAY

The Musi River in southeast Sumatra, on which Palembang lies, might seem somewhat off the direct route between India and China. However, Srivijaya's fleet had come to dominate the coasts and waters

between western Java, through the Straits of Malacca to the waters between northern Sumatra and southern Thailand, defeating potential rivals. (The city's location was closer to the sea than it is today, siltation having significantly extended the coastline.) A stone pillar at Ligor on the southeast coast of Thailand contains an inscription dated AD 775 that commemorates the founding of a Buddhist sanctuary by the ruler of Srivijaya. It thus indicates the expansion of Srivijaya to the northern part of the Malay Peninsula in the 8th century, if not earlier.[15] By occupying strategic points on the main trade routes and developing a strong navy, Srivijaya was able to direct ships to call and do business in its port. It was this ability, more than wealth from the hinterland, that sustained its power. I-tsing wrote that he travelled from China to Srivijaya on a ship belonging to a Persian merchant, but his voyage on to India was made in one belonging to the king of Srivijaya.

From the earliest contact between Malays and overseas seafarers and merchants, a means of communication was necessary. When the ports of the Straits of Malacca and southeast Sumatra became stopping-off points for trade, storage, repairs, taking on supplies, and awaiting favourable winds, they brought together Indian, Chinese, and later Arab and Persian traders, needing to communicate with each other and with the local Malay merchants, seamen and port authorities. There was thus need for a lingua franca, a common language for communication between the different groups. As the local vernacular and, at least from the time of Srivijaya, the language of the powerful states in the region, Malay readily fulfilled this role. I-tsing stated that Chinese Buddhist monks, besides studying Sanskrit, mastered a language he called *K'un-lun*. Although the name was generally applied by the Chinese to any local indigenous language, in this case it clearly referred to Malay. Its role as the language of wider communication must have begun much earlier, when the first contacts with India were established, or earlier still, when Malays engaged in local trade with other nearby ethnic communities.

It is useful to distinguish three types of Malay.[16] First, there is the great variety of vernacular dialects of the traditional Malay communities, spoken in the Malay homelands of eastern Sumatra, off-shore islands, coastal regions of the Malay Peninsula and coastal regions of Borneo, many of which have even now not been adequately recorded. Speakers include other peoples who were absorbed into the Malay community as the influence of Malay states grew. Second, there are the lingua franca varieties of Malay. These were carried with trade throughout the

archipelago and further. Finally, there is literary Malay. It is only the literary variety, beginning with the Srivijayan inscriptions, of which there is any record before the arrival of Europeans. The literary style, in the writings of the small literate community of priests and court scribes, grew significantly different from the various forms of traditional Malay and lingua franca Malay and developed into the style of the later Classical Malay literary works (discussed in Chapter 4).

The lingua franca variety of Malay was significantly different from the more elaborate language used in the royal court and by scribes and priests and even from the vernaculars of the local Malay communities. Lingua franca Malay was not a community language, needed for the whole range of social interactions necessary within a society. As a trade language it was needed only for the reduced communication needs of trade, and so a grammatically simpler and lexically reduced form of Malay would soon have appeared. When trade later spread east to the Moluccas and to other distant places, this lingua franca Malay was carried along. In the east, Malay mixed with elements from local languages, many of which were non-Austronesian or Papuan, producing pidgin varieties. When trading ports appeared, such pidgin forms of Malay often became the first language of the local community, a state known as creole. Such creoles over a long period developed more complexity, evolving into the post-creole eastern types of Malay that the Europeans found on entering the eastern parts of the archipelago in the 16th century. Such forms of Malay have, since the early 18th century, been called Bazaar Malay or Low Malay. The terms are also sometimes used for the great variety of vernacular forms of Malay in the traditional Malay homeland of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, to distinguish them, albeit with a prejudicial tone, from literary Malay.

Unlike the Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms in Java, Srivijaya has left no enduring temples or other monuments to attest to its greatness. It has been speculated that, with its concentration on maritime wealth and power, it had no time for such spiritual matters.[17]

From the middle of the 9th century, Persian and Arab visitors began to report on the riches and power of Srivijaya. Its territories were then producing camphor, cloves, sandalwood, nutmeg and much else. Chinese annals indicate that Srivijaya was attacked by the king of East Java at the end of the 10th century. Srivijaya was able to counter-attack and defeat the Javanese, enabling it to then extend its domination eastward to cover all of Java and probably much of Borneo, as well as the whole of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Evidence of Srivijaya's

influence in Java comes from a number of inscriptions in Old Malay. One is from the area of Gandasuli in Central Java, dated AD 832 — about 50 years after the Srivijaya inscriptions. It is composed in very similar language and also contains many Sanskrit words.[18] A very short inscription found near Bogor in western Java and dating from AD 942 points to strong Srivijayan influence, if not domination, in the area.[19]

A small copperplate inscription in Old Malay, dating from the year AD 900, has been found in the Laguna district south of Manila in Luzon, northern Philippines. Only discovered in 1989, in sand on the shore of the lake, it is a certificate of acquittal of a debt incurred by a person in high office and amounts to ten lines of text, also written in Pallava-derived script.[20] As with the Srivijaya inscriptions, it contains Sanskrit words, including the opening formula, which gives the date. It also contains a number of Old Javanese words. Tagalog, the original language of the Manila region, contains many pre-Islamic loan words from Malay and Manila is known to have been a Malay-speaking port in the 14th century.[21] However, the discovery of the Laguna inscription significantly pushed back the history of the Manila region. It attests to the early spread of Malay to the furthest reaches of the Southeast Asian archipelago, at an even earlier date than most scholars had previously supposed.

THE DECLINE OF SRIVIJAYA

At the beginning of the 13th century, Srivijaya was still a powerful kingdom; Chinese records list 15 vassal states, covering all of Indonesia westward from Sunda in western Java, as well as the Malay Peninsula. However, its power was in decline. International trade had increased and many ships were using ports in northern Sumatra and the Straits of Malacca instead of continuing to southern Sumatra, evading Srivijaya's monopoly and avoiding paying port dues. Pressure to free trade increased with development of trade to the Moluccas in the east, with Javanese traders bringing nutmeg and cloves and seeking alternative harbours. By the 11th century, vassals were gradually challenging the monopoly by encouraging merchants to visit their harbours. A Chinese report of 1225 noted that harbours in the Straits of Malacca had recovered their independence from Srivijaya. As Srivijaya's power waned and its control over trade in the region of the Straits slipped away, various other ports grew and vied for trading supremacy.

By the end of the 13th century, Srivijaya was no longer an extensive imperial power, although Palembang and Melayu were still prosperous

trading centres. Melayu, where Jambi now stands on the Jambi River, appears to have regained its independence; Marco Polo, visiting in 1292, mentions Melayu as the foremost state in Sumatra.[22] By this time, both the Javanese and Thais were extending their power, the Thais over Srivijaya's northern possessions and the Javanese taking control of the Sunda Straits between Sumatra and Java. Chinese records note that near the end of the 14th century the ruler of Palembang rebelled against Javanese overlordship. The Javanese invaded, defeating and expelling the ruler. Palembang remained a busy port, but the power of Srivijaya had been destroyed.[23]

At this time, while the old Buddhist empire was losing control over the Straits of Malacca through the pressure of Siam and Java, Islam began to have an impact in northern Sumatra. Although Arab and other Muslim merchants, from places such as Persia and Gujerat in India, had been prominent in the trade through the Straits for centuries, it was only at the end of the 13th century that their religion began to take a foothold in northern Sumatra. Marco Polo reported that Perlac, a port in the northern end of Sumatra, had been converted to Islam and the discovery of the tombstone of a sultan of nearby Samudra, dated 1297, shows that this state had adopted the new religion at about the same time.

With the fall of Srivijaya and the coming of Islam, Indian influence rapidly declined, although it still lived on in Java for some centuries and still does in Bali.

Srivijaya had played an enormously important part in the development of the Malay language. Before Srivijaya's time, Malays had established river settlements along the east coast of Sumatra and there can be little doubt that earlier kingdoms, such as *Kan-t'o-li*, were Malay-speaking. Certainly Srivijaya's predecessor, Melayu, was. Malay settlement of off-shore islands and river estuaries on the Malay Peninsula may have begun before Srivijaya's time, but further spread must have occurred during the Srivijayan period and other ethnic groups were probably absorbed into the Malay-speaking community, both in Malaya and Sumatra, as also occurred when Malays migrated to Borneo, which also probably began in Srivijayan times.

The Srivijayan inscriptions are the earliest known examples of Malay and it is thus unfortunate that they and later inscriptions from Java and Luzon are so brief. The AD 942 inscription found in western Java contains just 13 words, eight Sanskrit and five Malay. While Sanskrit words would have been entering the language, certainly by later Srivijayan

times, the large number of Sanskrit words in the inscriptions does not point to large-scale borrowing in the 7th century. Rather, Sanskrit was partly used precisely because it was not familiar; its mystery enhanced the power and efficacy of the texts.

The next known examples of Malay are three inscriptions from the 14th century, 700 years after the Srivijayan inscriptions. Two of these are Islamic, the Trengganu inscription, written in Arabic script, and a gravestone found at Minye Tujuh in northern Sumatra, discussed in Chapter 4. The Minye Tujuh stone, although Islamic, is written in Pallava script and contains Sanskrit words. The third is a stone inscription of 1356 found at Pagarruyung in the Minangkabau language area of central Sumatra. This inscription also contains many Sanskrit words. It is clear from the Pagarruyung inscription that Old Malay writing was in some sort of decline by the 13th century, with the Sanskrit described as 'very faulty' and the Malay as 'rather corrupt'.[24]

Apart from the inscriptions, nothing is known of Srivijayan literature, although there must have been a considerable court literature over many centuries. The 14th-century Pagarruyung inscription suggests that Old Malay remained in use as a written language, with Indian script and containing many Sanskrit elements, up to the end of the Sumatran Buddhist period, which may have lasted longer in the hinterland than on the coast. However, with the coming of Islam the literature was no longer copied and so was not preserved.[25] Nevertheless, the early literature of the Islamic period probably carried on a number of traditions from the earlier period. It has been claimed that 'certain peculiar features of the earliest Malay texts using Arabic script can only be explained by an older tradition of writing in a syllabic script of Indian derivation, similar to that still used in Java'.[26]

BORROWING FROM SANSKRIT

Indian cultural penetration during the Hindu–Buddhist period in Indonesian history had a profound and in many ways permanent influence on Indonesian society and culture, not only in Malay areas but also, and to a greater extent, in Bali and Java. While the first contacts with India were with merchants and seamen, it was not they who were responsible for Sanskrit influence. They were of lower caste and did not possess the learning characteristic of Indian culture in Southeast Asia. The influence came as a result of the activities of small numbers of Indian brahmans and Buddhist monks serving Indonesian courts as

advisers and of Indonesian pilgrims and students who studied in India.[27]

Because of the fragmentary nature of the record of Old Malay, consisting of the sporadic occurrence of brief inscriptions, understanding of early borrowing from Sanskrit is limited. The picture of Sanskrit borrowing into Old Javanese is far clearer due to the continuous and abundant nature of Old Javanese records, which reveal the process of adoption and assimilation of Sanskrit forms, a process that must also have occurred in Malay. A number of Sanskrit words have also been borrowed into Malay via Old Javanese; this is particularly true of modern borrowing of Sanskrit forms drawn from Old Javanese literature (see p. 167).

Borrowing from Sanskrit represents the first known influence on Malay from a language external to the Austronesian group. Presumably, many borrowings have disappeared from the language and most of the Sanskrit elements appearing in Old Malay inscriptions cannot be regarded as borrowings at all, as already mentioned. However, a great many Sanskrit words exist in the present-day language, many of them so assimilated that Indonesians are not aware that they are borrowings. It cannot be stated for certain when most of these terms actually acquired general acceptance in Malay; the process of adoption stretched over many centuries and some words would have acquired common usage much earlier or later than others, even within the same semantic domain. The Trengganu inscription contains Sanskrit words that were presumably assimilated at that time (see p. 53) and a Malay–Chinese wordlist drawn up in the 15th century (see p. 77) contains about 20 Sanskrit words, as well as words from other Indian languages. A Dutch religious booklet of 1612 contains a number of Sanskrit words, including *karena* (because), *guru* (teacher) and *nama* (name), showing that they were assimilated by that time.[28]

Borrowings given below are cited in the form and with the meaning that they have in modern Indonesian; the form and meaning in Sanskrit is not given, except in a few cases where it is quite different from the Indonesian. Only a small sample of common words in the modern language, grouped into semantic fields, is given here.[29]

- RELIGION:

  Many Hindu and Buddhist terms have been borrowed, including the names of Hindu deities. Other terms include:

agama	religion
dewa	god (especially in a polytheistic or pagan system)

dosa	sin
jiwa	soul
neraka	hell
puasa	to fast
puja	worship
surga	heaven

- TITLES, NAMES AND RELATIONSHIPS:

bangsa	people, nation (Sanskrit *vansā* 'family').
bendehara	treasurer
keluarga	family
laksamana	admiral (after a character in the Hindu epic *Ramayana*)
menteri	minister of state
mitra	friend
perdana menteri	prime minister
raja	king

Personal names of Sanskrit origin have mainly been restricted to the Javanese community. Among them are many with the Sanskrit formant *su-* 'good', such as *Sumitro* 'good friend', *Suharto* 'good wealth'.

- SCHOLARSHIP AND CEREMONIES:

bahasa	language
guru	teacher
mantra, mantera	magic formula
pendeta	Hindu or Buddhist priest; Protestant clergyman; (archaic) scholar (Sanskrit *pandita* 'learned')
sarjana	scholar
sastra	literature
siswa	student
upacara	ceremony

- GEOGRAPHY, LOCALITIES AND PLACES:

angkasa	sky, heavens
asrama	hostel, dormitory
biara	monastery
bumi	earth; world
desa	village

gempa	earthquake
gua	cave
istana	palace
kota	town
negeri	country
nusa	island
semudera	ocean
udara	air

- ANATOMY; BODILY CONDITIONS:

bahu	shoulder (Sanskrit *bāhu* 'arm')
kepala	head (Sanskrit *kapāla* 'skull')
muka	face
roma	body hair
selesma	cold (Sanskrit *slesman* 'mucus')
sendi	joint

- NUMERALS:

  Malay, like other Austronesian languages, had a developed decimal counting system, although lacking words for very high numbers. The word *juta* (million) is from Sanskrit *ayuta* (ten thousand). There are some other less common words, such as *laksa* (ten thousand — Sanskrit *laksa* 'one hundred thousand'), which occurs in the AD 682 inscription given on page 38. The common word for 'first', *pertama*, is from Sanskrit, as is *angka* (number). Numerals for lower denominations have more recently been borrowed for restricted usage, usually as prefixed forms, such as *dwi-* (dual) and *tri-* (tri-), as discussed in Chapter 8.

- BOTANICAL NAMES, FOODSTUFFS, ANIMALS:

angsa	goose
cendana	sandalwood
gajah	elephant
labu	gourd, pumpkin
madu	honey
melati	jasmine
pala	nutmeg
singa	lion

- ABSTRACT TERMS:

aniaya	tyranny, injustice
bukti	proof
cinta	love
dusta	lie
gembira	cheerful, happy
merdeka	freedom (Sanskrit *maharddhika* 'powerful')
mulia	noble
sentosa	tranquil, peaceful
setia	loyal
susila	decent, moral

The term *sukacita* 'joy, happiness' occurs in the AD 682 inscription.

- FUNCTION WORDS:

Some function words and prepositions have been borrowed, such as:

antara	between
atau	or
karena	because
ketika	when
tetapi	but

The common word for 'I' in formal language is *saya*, which derives from a Sanskrit word meaning 'slave'.

It is not at all uncommon for a word in modern Indonesian of Sanskrit origin to have a significantly different meaning from the original in Sanskrit, a very few being indicated above. The modern Indonesian meaning may be narrower or wider than the original or have undergone some other semantic shift. An example of narrowing of meaning is the word *agama*, meaning 'religion' in Indonesian but in Sanskrit having the wider meaning 'traditional precept, doctrine, anything handed down and fixed by tradition'. On the other hand, Sanskrit *sodara* meant 'brother, born of the same womb', which as *saudara* was extended in meaning to refer to any relative of the same generation. Sanskrit *nagarī* meant 'town'. In earlier Malay, it denoted the chief settlement of a ruler. As the Malay state expanded from the traditional river system with a *negeri* as its capital to a larger area with defined boundaries, the word extended in meaning to 'country'.

In some cases, the modern meaning is so different that a relationship with the Sanskrit source might easily be overlooked. The word

denda (fine) is from Sanskrit *danda*, which meant 'staff, rod as a symbol of power; application of power, punishment'. In the modern language, *gembira* means 'delighted, happy'; in Sanskrit, *gambhīra* meant 'profound, grave, serious'; in earlier Malay, the word took on the meaning of 'passion, excitement, lust for fighting' before acquiring its present meaning.

Borrowings from Sanskrit almost always underwent changes of pronunciation. This was inevitable in most cases, given the far larger stock of sounds in Sanskrit — 35 consonants as against 18 in Malay (excluding consonants entering the language via later borrowings) — and a distinction between long and short vowels, which does not occur in Malay. In some cases, a word split into two in its history, giving two forms in the modern language, where Sanskrit had only one. Thus *berita* and *warta*, both meaning 'news', reflect the Sanskrit word *vārttā* (news); *kerja* (to work) and *karya* (a work — of art, literature) both derive from *kārya* (work).

Sanskrit words were often introduced as synonyms to native Malay words. As so frequently occurred in English with loans from Latin, the borrowing was considered more refined, due to the prestige of the donor language (as further discussed in Chapter 8). Thus *suami* (husband) and *istri* (wife) are politer than the indigenous *laki* and *bini*. The terms *putra* and *putri* were originally used as 'prince' and 'princess' respectively, as in Sanskrit, but also came to be used as honorific forms for 'son' and 'daughter' when referring to the children of someone of high social standing or, for courtesy, the children of the person being spoken to.

Terms like *putra* and *putri* introduced to Malay a gender-marking distinction that Malay, like other Austronesian languages, did not make, even having a single pronoun *ia/dia* for third person singular, 'he, she, it'. The *-a/-i* masculine/feminine distinction also occurs in the Sanskrit borrowings *dewa* (god) and *dewi* (goddess), *siswa* (student) and *siswi* (female student), where the *-a* form is used both for males and in general for males and females, while the *-i* form is specifically feminine. The male and female endings *-wan* and *-wati* also introduce gender distinction. As these have become more frequent in usage in the modern language, they are discussed further in that connection (see p. 171).

Borrowing from Sanskrit, an Indo-European language, has brought into the language a number of words related to English words. Some are obvious, such as *nama* (name) and *sama* (same), while others, due to sound changes in English or changes in meaning, are not readily

identifiable, such as *kepala* (head), *dasa* (ten) and *madu* (honey — English 'mead'). Modern Indonesian also shares a number of related words with English where a Sanskrit word was borrowed into Malay while English borrowed a cognate from Latin or Greek, such as Indonesian *dewa* (god) and English 'divine'. In some cases, English has borrowed words from Hindi, a development from Sanskrit, giving indirectly related forms in the two languages, such as Indonesian *pendeta* (priest) and English 'pundit', Indonesian *panca* (five) and English 'punch' (the drink — so called because it originally contained five ingredients). 'Five' is the directly related English word to Sanskrit *pañcā*, the origin of the Indonesian word.

4

THE CLASSICAL MALAY PERIOD

THE COMING OF ISLAM

The spread of Islam in the archipelago proceeded gradually. The religion was brought by merchants and sailors from Persia and the Arab countries, but mainly from India, particularly by Moslems from Gujerat, who were playing a major part in commerce in the 13th and 14th centuries.[1]

North Sumatra was the first part of the archipelago to be converted. Marco Polo called at Perlak on the far north coast on his return home in 1292 and reported that the town was visited by so many Moslem traders that they had converted the natives to Islam, although he suggests that the conversion had not been in process long.[2] While Moslem traders had been visiting the Straits of Malacca for centuries and Moslem tombstones of an earlier period are known, this is the earliest report we have of Islamic influence in Southeast Asia. The Arab voyager Ibn Batuta visited the north Sumatran port of Samudra-Pasai, a prosperous commercial state in the 13th and 14th centuries, on his way to and from China in 1345–46. He reported that it had a Moslem sultan, although surrounding areas were non-Moslem.[3]

A Muslim gravestone of 1380, discovered in Minye Tujuh, in the Aceh-speaking region of northern Sumatra, consists mainly of a poem in Sanskrit metre in Pallava script. It is written in Malay, but with numerous Sanskrit words (as in the Srivijayan inscriptions from 700 years earlier), containing also some formulaic Arabic phrases. Although Islamic, it demonstrates that in northern Sumatra in the 14th century Malay was considered the right literary language for a commemorative inscription and that Indian writing was still in use.[4]

On the Malay Peninsula the earliest Islamic document is an inscription on a granite stele found at Trengganu on the northeast coast.[5] The Trengganu inscription is the oldest Malay text in the Arabic script yet discovered and the earliest contemporary record of the introduction of Islam into the peninsula. The precise date of the inscription is open to doubt. The first side of the stele ends with the words *tujuh ratus dua* (seven hundred and two). The year 702 in the Islamic calendar is AD 1303. However, the wording is probably incomplete, being continued at the top of the second side, which has been lost. Presumably the word *tahun* (year/s) would have followed. Other numbers may have followed *dua*. It could have been *puluh*, giving *dua puluh* (twenty), and this could have been followed by any of the numbers from one to nine. Alternatively, it may have been *lapan*, giving *dua lapan*, the older form for modern *delapan* (eight), still in use when Pigafetta compiled his wordlist in 1521 (see p. 61); thus somewhere in the 780s, giving a final possible dating of AD 1387. Whatever the date, it is still the oldest example of Malay written in Arabic script, considerably predating the next known example, an inscription from 1468.

The Trengganu inscription was discovered at the very end of the 19th century by a trader-cum-prospector in the river Teresat, about 30 kilometres upstream from the mouth of the Trengganu River. It is on the four sides of a granite stone, the top portion of which is missing. The characters were engraved with a pointed instrument and are of crude workmanship. The spelling is also unorthodox. The inscription contains on its first side a proclamation ordering rulers and governors to uphold the Moslem faith. At the time, Trengganu was claimed as a vassal by the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit, a Hindu-Buddhist state, and the inscription clearly shows that it was written in a period when Islamic beliefs were just being introduced. The Hindu-Buddhist past is much apparent in the inscription; there are 29 Sanskrit words, not all of which are still in use. By contrast, there are fewer than ten words from Arabic and these are confined to the Arabic names for the day of the week and the month and a stock religious phrase. Indeed, God is referred to as *Dewata Mulia Raya* (Great High Godhead), rather than by the Arabic formula *Allah subhanahu wa taala*.[6] The first two elements are Sanskrit: *dewata* (god), *mulia* (noble, exalted), and only the third *raya* (great) is Malay. Even in the one Arabic religious phrase the engraver made an error, revealing his lack of familiarity with Arabic. The scholar who first described the inscription wrote:

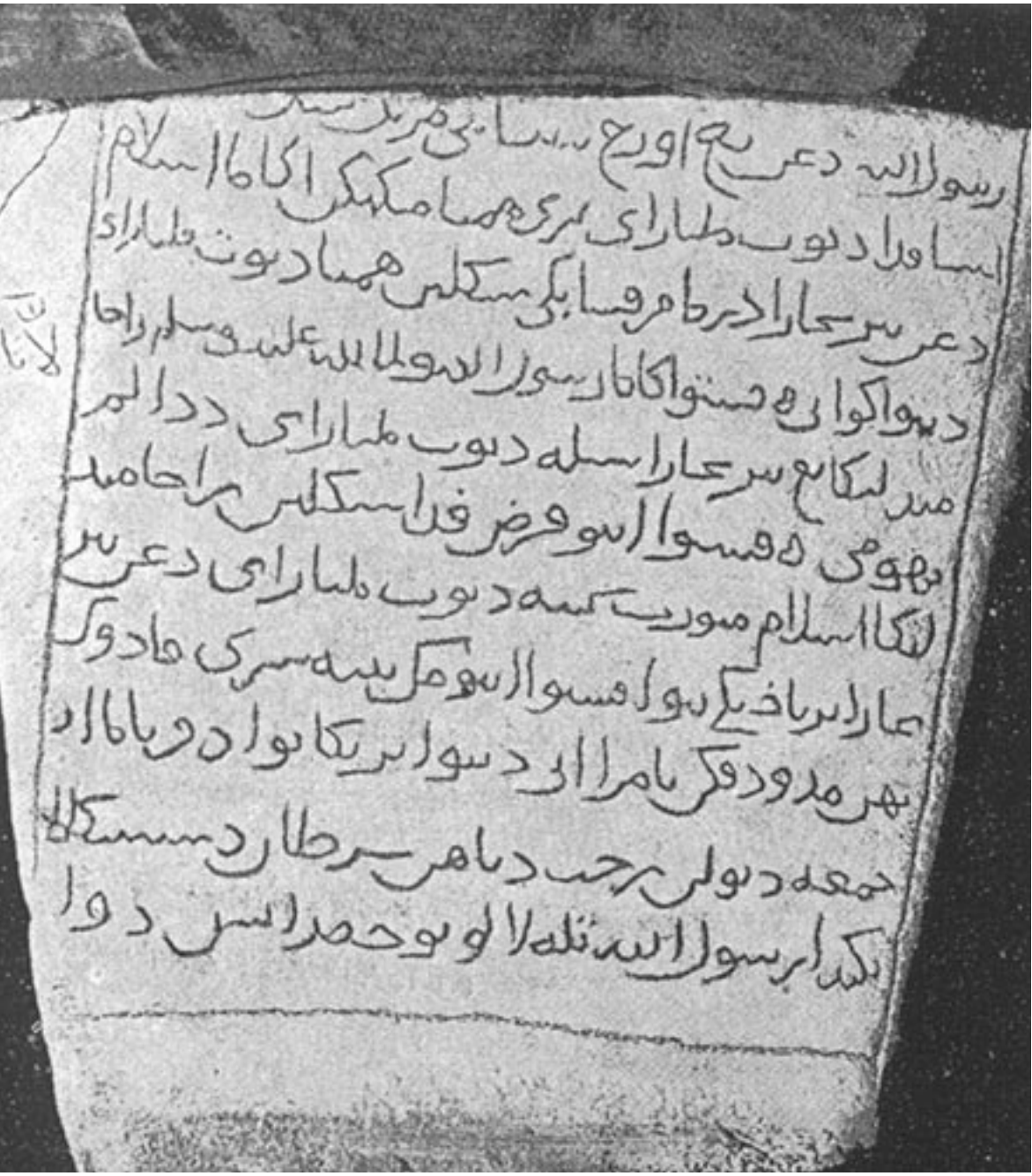


Figure 4.1
The 14th-century Trengganu inscription — the oldest existing Malay writing in Arabic script. This photograph of side A (see p. 55) is in negative to highlight the writing. *(Paterson 1924, plate 1a)*

> The evidence, in fact, leads inevitably to the conclusion that this represents the promulgation of a new religion in language adapted to the understanding of a population educated only in Hinduistic religious terms. The period of the inscription is one in which Islam was slowly but surely displacing the older religious beliefs of the Malays.[7]

The text of side A of the Trengganu inscription consists of eleven lines, as follows, the doubtful parts being in square brackets. Dots in the first line indicate parts that cannot be deciphered.

1 *Rasul Allah dengan yang orang … [bagi] mereka …*
2 *ada pada Dewata Mulia Raya beri hamba menegohkan ugama Islam.*
3 *dengan benar bicara derma meraksa bagi sakalian hamba Dewata Mulia Raya*
4 *di-benua-ku ini [penentu] ugama Rasul Allah salla'llahu 'alaihi wa sallama Raja*
5 *mandalika yang benar bichara sa-belah Dewata Mulia Raya didalam*
6 *behumi. Penentua itu fardzu pada sakalian Raja manda-*
7 *lika Islam menurut sa-titah Dewata Mulia Raya dengan benar*
8 *bichara berbajiki benua penentua itu maka titah Seri Paduka*
9 *Tuhan medudokkan tamra ini di-benua Trenganu adi-pertama ada*
10 *Juma'at di-bulan Rejab di-tahun sarathan di-sasanakala*
11 *Baginda Rasul Allah telah lalu tujoh ratus dua*

TRANSLATION:[8]

1 … God's Apostle, together with the Blessed Spirits (a salutation to them) ….
2 trust in the Great High Godhead, cause the servants to hold firmly the doctrines of Islam
3 together with true regard for the laws, govern all the servants of the Great High Godhead
4 in this land of mine. The expounders of the doctrines of God's Apostle (God bless him and give him peace!) are the Raja
5 Mandalikas who have true regard towards the Great High Godhead, on
6 earth. Such exposition is incumbent upon all Muslim Raja Manda-
7 likas, following all the commands of the Great High Godhead together with true
8 regard for the setting in order, for the country, of such exposition; and when His Majesty

9 Lord first ordered the setting up of this record in the country of Trengganu it was
10 a Friday in the month of Rejab, in the year 'Cancer', in the religious era
11 of our Lord the Apostle of God, after the passing (in that era) of seven hundred and (?) (years) …

For line 11, the translation of *dua* (two) was omitted by the translator, placing a question mark, for reasons discussed above.

Of the 29 Sanskrit words contained in the Trengganu inscription, the following occur on side A, with line numbers shown. Most of them are still in use in modern Indonesian:

2 *dewata* 'god', *mulia* 'noble', *ugama* 'religion' (modern *agama*)
3 *bicara* 'speak', *derma* 'laws' (modern 'alms'), *raksa* 'guard' (archaic),
4 *raja* 'ruler, king'
5 *mandalika* 'regional' (archaic), thus *raja mandalika* 'regional rulers'
6 *behumi* 'world' (Sanskrit *bhumi*, modern *bumi*)
8 *Seri Paduka* 'His Majesty'
9 *adi* 'beginning', *pertama* (Sanskrit *prathama*) 'first' [although the reading of *adi* is doubtful]
10 *sasanakala* (from Sanskrit *s'āsanam* 'command' (archaic) and *kāla* 'time')
11 *Baginda* 'the fortunate' (used as a title for rulers)

The Sanskrit words in the inscription were already assimilated into the Malay language. This contrasts with the Srivijayan inscriptions in which the Sanskrit component essentially comprised religious formulae unintelligible to most people other than the Buddhist monks.

A number of Malay words have different meanings in the modern language. Thus on lines 8–9 *Seri Paduka Tuhan* means 'His Lord Majesty', where *tuhan* is a variant of *tuan* (lord, master), rather than meaning 'God' as in the modern language.

The transcription of the piece, even overlooking the problems in interpreting a number of words, is difficult for a speaker of the modern language to understand. Nevertheless, it is clearly Malay and much can be identified in transcription, unlike the Srivijaya inscriptions, which a modern Indonesian without the necessary training simply would not recognise. The situation is remarkably similar to that of an English speaker looking at earlier English of comparable periods, such as Anglo-Saxon of the 8th century and Chaucer of the 14th century.

While Chaucer may be difficult to understand, it is instantly recognisable as English, whereas writing of the earlier period is unlikely to be perceived as such by most people. During the six or seven hundred years since the Srivijaya inscriptions, significant changes had occurred in the language, although too little is preserved to allow any sort of documentation of the changes and their dates. Regional dialects of Malay would have developed quite quickly after the dispersal of the language and there is no reason to suppose that the dialect spoken in Trengganu in the 14th century was a direct continuation of the Srivijayan language of the 7th century.

The conversion of the Malay world to the Moslem religion was largely responsible for a great flowering of literature, although there was undoubtedly a tradition of literature in pre-Islamic courts. The availability of a great many written works of both religious and non-religious nature, in Arabic and Persian, reproduced in Malay translations, stimulated the production of similar works in Malay. Another important factor was the introduction of paper and ink, which were used by Moslem scribes in western Asia. In the Hindu-Buddhist period, works of literature were usually cut by a knife on palm leaf, and the Hindu and Buddhist scribes resisted the undoubtedly superior method of writing after it was introduced.[9]

MALACCA AND ITS INFLUENCE

Information on the language and the history of the region continues to be very sketchy until the Malaccan period. There is evidence that Malacca, which began as a small river settlement engaged in fishing, farming and piracy, was occupied by a prince from Palembang some time towards the end of the 14th century. Under him and his successors it developed gradually into a busy and wealthy entrepot port and the pre-eminent trading centre in the region. By the end of the 15th century, it was the capital of a powerful Malay empire.[10]

Our knowledge of Malacca's history in the 15th century comes mainly from two sources. The *Suma Oriental*, which provides an account of Malacca's history, including its origins, administration and trade, was written by Tome Pires, a Portuguese official who arrived in Malacca in 1512.[11] The second source is the *Sejarah Melayu* (The History of Malaya), known in English as *The Malay Annals*, which has been handed down in a number of different versions.[12] The work has been called the foremost example of Classical Malay style, as well as a literary masterpiece.[13] Although the text's stated aim was to set forth

the genealogy of the Malay rajas and the ceremonial of their courts, it did not have the aim of precisely describing events in the past and cannot be regarded as history in the Western sense (beginning as it does with a genealogy that traces the line of Malacca's kings back to Alexander the Great).

Despite the considerable differences between them, both the *Suma Oriental* and the *Sejarah Melayu* contain a core of similar information concerning the founding of Malacca, tracing the Malaccan royal line to a ruler in Palembang. They both describe his departure for Tumasik or Temasek (now Singapore), possibly following a Javanese attack on Srivijaya, later moving his settlement to Muar, about eight kilometres from Malacca, and finally establishing himself in Malacca. Some scholars believe that Malacca represents a continuation of the power of Srivijaya and that its rapid rise to prominence was due to its direct connection with the earlier state. One even goes so far as to state that the last ruler of Srivijaya, ousted by the Javanese, settled first in Singapore and then founded Malacca, where he ruled for 14 years.[14] In the *Sejarah Melayu* and other Malay epics, *Melayu*, the origin of 'Malay', is identified with the area of Palembang, where Srivijaya stood.

Malacca was ideally situated to take advantage of trade passing through the Straits. The harbour was sheltered and deep with easy access to the interior and a naturally defensible position. It developed a reputation for security and well-ordered government, a cosmopolitan marketplace, excellent warehouses and other facilities, where merchants could store their goods and await a change in the monsoon winds. Early on, Malacca established good relations with China, which offered protection from Thai attacks. This encouraged increasing numbers of merchants to come to Malacca, which soon outshone commercial rivals such as Samudra-Pasai in northern Sumatra.

Under these conditions the port became a centre for the international trade, with many thousands of Indian merchants either resident in Malacca or travelling between it and India. With wealth and power from international commerce and control of the spice trade, mainly nutmeg and cloves from the Moluccas, it came to dominate the region. By 1500, the kingdom included most of the Malay Peninsula, the Riau-Lingga archipelago and much of the east coast of Sumatra, although it never succeeded in gaining complete control of the region and other trading states continued to compete with it.

Malacca rose to become a commercial city of such importance that Tome Pires admiringly wrote that it had no equal in the world. It also

laid the foundation for later Malay society. 'Building upon an illustrious past, it established a pattern of government and a life style which was emulated by subsequent Malay kingdoms and became the basis of what was later termed "traditional" Malay culture and statecraft'.[15]

Despite the fact that Malacca never succeeded in fully controlling the Straits of Malacca, it had an enormous influence in the region, its distinctive literature, style of government, and culture being consciously imitated in the rest of the Malay world. The spread of Malay culture and language did not begin with Malacca, having been underway during the time of Srivijaya. However, it accelerated under Malacca and at the height of Malacca's power in the 15th century it spread eastward to areas far beyond Malacca's political control, such as Ternate and Tidore in the northern Moluccas. Malay became the language of court and literature in kingdoms outside traditional Malay-speaking areas. There was a great blossoming of Malay literature of all types; Malay texts, written in Jawi — Arabic script adapted to the Malay language — consisting of stories, chronicles, religious tracts, and law codes, were produced not only in Malacca but in aristocratic circles in Minangkabau and in non-Malay areas such as Aceh, Lampung in southern Sumatra, Makassar, Bima on the island of Sumbawa, the Sulu archipelago and Mindanao in southern Philippines.[16] This literary Malay, although not entirely uniform, was soon to become quite standardised, despite regional variation in local spoken forms of the language.

The cosmopolitan nature of Malacca can be seen in an early Malay–Chinese wordlist, which shows numerous borrowings for cultural items. The list was compiled in the mid-16th century, drawn from earlier lists in numerous Chinese reports on activities in Malacca before 1511.[17] The list reflects the Chinese interest in trade, with large sections dealing with natural phenomena, geography, flowers and trees. The great majority of the 482 entries are still in common use today (although some items cannot be identified, owing to the inefficiency of Chinese characters to accurately represent syllables in Malay). Although the majority of the words are Malay, there is nevertheless a significant number of borrowings from many sources, pointing to the vigorous commercial and cosmopolitan nature of Malacca society and its readiness to absorb elements from other cultures.

MALAY IN THE EAST

The period of Malacca's power came to an abrupt end in August 1511, when the city was captured by the Portuguese. As the most important

commercial port in Southeast Asia and the centre for the spice trade it was a valued prize for the Portuguese. The royal court fled, eventually settling on the island of Bintan in the Riau-Lingga archipelago. Conflict with the Portuguese led to several moves, but finally the sultan established his royal residence on the Johor River in the 1530s, founding the kingdom of Johor.

Here the Malacca dynasty was able to resume its commercial activities, although Johor never acquired the dominating position of Malacca and numerous other trading states vied with it. One of the sons of the last sultan of Malacca established himself in the tiny settlement of Perak on the northwest coast of the peninsula and Malacca's culture and traditions thus continued there also. Perak grew to become a wealthy kingdom, profiting from the increasing demand for tin from European traders. Aceh also developed into a wealthy kingdom after the fall of Malacca, profiting from Moslem trade. Malacca itself, under the Portuguese, also remained a significant commercial centre.

By the time the Portuguese and Spanish arrived in the archipelago early in the 16th century, the whole area, from Aceh in the west to western New Guinea and north through the Philippines, was a thriving network of trade routes. Malay had been taken east as the lingua franca for trade in the Srivijaya era and its importance grew as trade spread, centred around the Moluccas. While a somewhat standardised form of literary Malay became established in royal courts throughout the archipelago, so-called Bazaar Malay was the language of commerce. Forms of Malay that probably began as pidgins, vehicles for communication on a limited range of topics by traders and local populations, spread as ports sprang up throughout the archipelago, such as Ambon and Ternate in the Moluccas and Kupang in Timor. As populations increased in these ports, lingua franca Malay was used for more and more social functions, acquiring more vocabulary and grammatical complexity, absorbing elements from traditional Malay and from local languages. When people came to speak Malay as their home language, it was needed for all the daily purposes of any vernacular. In this stage the language was no longer a pidgin, used only between speakers of different languages for limited purposes, but had become a creole, a first language derived from a previous pidgin stage. It was these creoles that developed into the post-creole forms of Malay spoken today in places like Ambon, Ternate, Manado and Kupang. In other places, such as the northern Moluccas and coastal parts of western New Guinea, the language remained largely for inter-ethnic communication.

Also important in the eastern archipelago, but distinct from the lingua franca varieties of Malay, were the traditional vernacular forms brought to Borneo by Malay immigrants from the west. These were continuations of regional dialects of Sumatra and were not the product of pidginisation and creolisation. These people settled around much of the coast of Borneo and their language is reflected in Banjarese, Kutai Malay, Sarawak Malay and Brunei Malay. Later, the literary tradition of Malacca was introduced and continued in the courts of local sultans. Local populations were absorbed into the Malay-speaking community as they were converted to Islam.

Brunei, in northwest Borneo, had a long maritime tradition, having been part of the network of trade between Srivijaya and China. By the beginning of the 15th century, it had sound relations with China and was an important part of the northern trade route to the Moluccas. It became a Moslem state after the arrival there of Moslem traders and possibly court officials from Malacca. Survivors of Magellan's round-the-world expedition visited Brunei in 1521 and were impressed by the splendour of its court and by Brunei's influence throughout the Philippines. Antonio Pigafetta, an Italian travelling with Magellan's expedition, wrote that Luzon (the northern island of the Philippines) was vassal to Brunei.

The spread of Malay was thoroughly established throughout the archipelago by the time the Europeans arrived in the 16th century, as a number of Portuguese sources attest. A report of 1544 by Antonio Galvão, Portuguese governor of the Moluccas, compares the spread and general use of Malay with Latin in Europe.[18] Jan Huygen van Lindschoten, a Dutch sailor travelling with the Portuguese between 1579 and 1592, wrote that 'Anyone who does not know Malay in the Indies will not get anywhere, as with French with us'.[19] The Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier arrived in Malacca in 1545, where he studied Malay. He proceeded to the Moluccas and wrote from Ambon in the following year that, while each island had its own language, Malay was widely understood. He wrote that it was into Malay that he translated scriptures and prayers.[20]

Pigafetta compiled his Malay–Italian wordlist in 1521, the earliest extant Malay wordlist, now preserved in the Ambrosiana Library of Milan. (The Chinese wordlist already referred to, although based on earlier lists, was itself of a later date.) Although the expedition visited the Moluccas as well as the Philippines, it is probable that the source of the list was a Sumatran slave on board, whom Magellan had acquired

after his assistance at the conquest of Malacca in 1511. There are no words in the list identifiable as purely Moluccan Malay and most of the words are clearly western (Sumatran-Malaccan). Pigafetta described how the slave was understood by the inhabitants of a small island in the Sulu archipelago, which stretches between northeast Borneo and Mindanao island.[21]

THE EARLIEST MALAY LETTERS

The earliest known letters in Malay were written in 1521 and 1522 in the name of Sultan Abu Hayat of Ternate, one of the two powerful Moslem sultanates in the northern Moluccas. Writings of many kinds, including letters, were produced before this, but none has been preserved. The Ternate letters were addressed to the king of Portugal and owe their survival to preservation in Europe. It is significant that the earliest preserved documents in Malay, apart from inscriptions on stone, were from the eastern archipelago, an area where Malay was not native but where it had long been the language of wider communication. While the Malay (Jawi) handwriting is good, the letters were written by someone who was 'certainly very imperfectly acquainted with the Malay language', to quote Blagden, who translated the letters. Blagden points out that 'The style and grammar are bad, the order of the words appears to have been influenced by the syntax of the quite alien local language of Ternate, and the meaning is therefore often ambiguous or obscure'.[22] The Ternate language belongs to the North Halmahera language group, a subgroup of non-Austronesian (Papuan) languages in the northern Moluccas, and the peculiarities in the Malay of the letters are characteristic of such languages. Malay was thus the language considered suitable for diplomacy and for all other communication between people of different native languages, although it was not the everyday language of Ternate.

Some of the non-Malay influences are apparent at the beginning of the first letter, which follows, in Blagden's transliteration of the original:

1 *Raja Sultan Abu Hayat surat datang ka-pada mama Raja Portukal raja (be)sar al-dunia 'alam*
2 *semuha-nya tuwan basar karana dahulu Raja Portukal manyuroh Frangshisko Sera datang dari Muluku*
3 *binasa dari Ambun maka Raja Meluku semuha-nya dengar Feringgi ada binasa dari Ambun maka Raja*
4 *Tedore dan Jailolo di-suroh Ambun semuha-nya berhimpah mau bunoh pada Frangshisko Sera.*

Blagden translates this:

1 Letter of Sultan Abu Hayat to his uncle the King of Portugal, the (great?) king of the whole
2 world, the great lord. Because formerly the King of Portugal ordered Francisco Serrao to come to the Moluccas,
3 (and he) came to grief at Amboina, and all the Rajas of the Moluccas heard that Europeans had come to grief at Amboina, the Rajas
4 of Tidore and Jailolo ordered all Amboina (to assemble together?) in order to slay Francisco Serrao.

In Malay a possessive follows the noun, but in this letter, line 1, the name of the king precedes *surat* 'letter'. This is a characteristic of the various post-creole varieties of Malay in the east, influenced by the possessor–possessed word order of non-Austronesian languages of the region. Irregularly, the word order object–passive verb is replaced by passive verb–object, another characteristic of non-Austronesian languages of the region. Thus on line 4 *Raja Tedore dan Jailolo di-suroh Ambun semuha-nya berhimpah* means, not 'the kings of Tidore were ordered by all Ambon (Blagden's Amboina) to assemble' (with the last word being an error for *berhimpun* 'assemble') but 'the kings of Tidore and Jailolo ordered all Ambon to assemble'.

Unlike Brunei, where Malay was the language of literature and the court, as well as that of trade, in Ternate and in other Moluccan states, such as Tidore, Malay was the language of the port and trade only. As the language of wider communication, it was considered appropriate for communication with Europeans, as it was with all non-locals. Lacking a literary style, the scribes could only use Bazaar Malay, which, in its local form, influenced by their own language, was soon to become further entrenched in the region, developing into Ternate Malay. The letters thus offer an excellent insight into the process of development of the creole-based eastern varieties of the language.

The second letter from the Sultan of Ternate of 1522 reports the arrival of two Spanish ships in 1521 to protect the Sultan of Tidore, with whom Ternate was in conflict. The ships were from Magellan's expedition of 1519–22, which arrived in the Moluccas following Magellan's death during fighting in the Philippines. On one of the ships was the Italian Antonio Pigafetta, who wrote an account of his voyage with Magellan, which included the Malay wordlist referred to above.

Other letters in lingua franca Malay from a somewhat later period have also been preserved, such as those from the ruler of Banten to the

Dutch authorities in Batavia, written in 1619. Of the language in these, it has been observed that they are:

> examples of the kind of Malay used as a lingua franca throughout the Malay/Indonesian area by peoples whose first language was not Malay. The similar language found in the Ternate and Banten letters is that *pasar* Malay (Bazaar Malay) which, however imperfectly it approximated to 'good' Malay, was the language by which Indonesians, Europeans, Chinese, and other Asians communicated with one another across cultural and linguistic barriers.[23]

The oldest extant Malay letters from the western part of the archipelago were written in 1602 and are preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.[24] They are letters from Sultan Ala'u 'd-Din Shah of Aceh to Queen Elizabeth, with authority to trade, given to captains on the first voyage to the archipelago undertaken by the English East India Company. Although Aceh had its own language, Malay had long been the language of the royal court and of literature; in fact, Aceh was one of the major centres for Malay literature in the period after the fall of Malacca. As such, Malay was, like Latin in medieval Europe, regarded as the only appropriate language for communicating with other peoples. The first letter, given to Sir James Lancaster, leader of the English expedition, begins:

> *Aku raja yang kuasa yang di bawah angin ini, yang memegang takhta keraja'an negri Acheh, dan negri Sammudara, dan segala negri yang t'alok ka-negri Acheh. Maka sakalian kamu yang menilek ka-pada surat ini, hendak-lah dengan tilek kebajikan, dan tilek yang sejahtra. Dan kamu dengarkan perkata'an yang dalam-nya, dan kamu fahamkan segala perkata'an-nya. Bahwa aku telah bersabda dengan suka-hati-ku, membri kamu tahu ini: Bahwa aku telah bersuhbat dengan Raja Ingliter …*

Shellabear translates this as follows. (Why he translates *raja* as 'king', when it was written during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as Shellabear mentions, is not explained.)

> I am the reigning sovereign of these [countries] below the wind, holding the throne of the kingdom of Acheen and Sumatra, and all the countries subject to Acheen. All ye who scan this letter shall [do so] with good will and peace, and listen to the words which it contains and understand them all. It has been my pleasure to declare for your information as follows: I have made friends with the King of England …

A decade later, in 1615, Sultan Perkasa Alam Johan of Aceh wrote to King James I. This is the splendidly illustrated 'Golden Letter', on a scroll almost a metre long, also held in the Bodleian Library (see Figure 4.2). While dealing with trade matters, most of the letter is a glorification of the sultan and speaks of his wealth and power. The letter begins:

> *Surat deri-pada Sri Sultan Perkasa 'Alam Johan berdaulat, raja yang beroleh mertabat keraja'an, yang dalam takhta keraja'an yang tiada terlihat oleh penglihat, yang tiada terdengar oleh penengar, yang bermaligai gading, berukir berkrawang, bersendi bersindura, bewerna sadalinggam, yang berayer 'mas, yang beristana sa-yojana menentang.*

TRANSLATION:

> A letter from His Excellency Sultan Perkasa Alam Johan the majestic, the king who possesses kingly rank, who is upon the throne of a kingdom which (human) vision cannot cover nor (human) hearing fully comprehend, whose palace is of ivory, engraved with network, with joints of red-lead, of the colour of vermilion and gilt; whose palace front extends as far as the eye can reach.

Compared with the letters from Ternate, these letters are not only more elaborate stylistically but are in a 'purer' form of Malay, clearly composed by someone thoroughly familiar with the literary language. The language used in these letters is, in many ways, remarkably similar to the literary form of the language of 300 years later.

MALAY LITERATURE

Literature of various kinds was produced in the court of Malacca and in the courts of the states that followed it, although no early works have been preserved. In the hot and humid conditions of the tropics, works on paper or palm leaf did not last long and needed to be regularly copied. Copyists in later periods edited and updated works, so that copies now known are not a reliable reflection of the language used in the original. Thus, apart from the Ternate letters, there are very few manuscripts preserved from the 16th century. The Trengganu inscription was made not long before some of the oldest Malay texts of the classical period, which probably date from the 14th century, although there may have been an unbroken literary tradition from early Srivijayan times.

However, a clear distinction must be made between texts and manuscripts. The earliest known literary manuscript, apart from the letters

Figure 4.2
The Malay-language letter from the Sultan of Aceh to King James I (AD 1615)

(Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Bodleian Images: MS. Laud Or Rolls b.1)

already referred to, was made in the first half of the 17th century. Much Old Javanese literature has been preserved in its original form because the priests and scribes of Bali, where the Hindu-Javanese tradition was continued after Java became Moslem, copied the original texts with great care over many centuries. By contrast, 'the copyists of Malay literature not only set to work rather carelessly, they often even seemed to deem it their duty and even their honour to purify their material, adapting it to the requirements of the day'.[25]

Because texts were regularly updated in language, manuscripts are likely to represent the literary language of the time they were written and not of the time of the original text. Consequently, there is very little evidence of the literary tradition before the time of the oldest preserved texts. Thus the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* (History of the Kings of Pasai), which is likely to have been written in the northern Sumatran city before 1524, when Pasai was annexed by Aceh, is only known from a manuscript of 1814 and, 'except for a few lexical relicts which slipped through the meshes of the purifying net, has been entirely made to conform with the classical ideal as far as language is concerned'.[26] The earliest datable literary manuscript is a copy of *Hikayat Seri Rama* (The Story of Rama), which was acquired by a European in 1633 and was probably copied not many years earlier.

The most famous of the histories, which were concerned primarily with the legitimacy and lineage of the sultan and very little with historical fact, is the *Sejarah Melayu* (see p. 57). The name was given to it by Westerners, the original name being *Sulalat u's-Salatin* (Genealogy of Sultans). The *Sejarah Melayu* is sometimes said to have been commenced at Johor in 1612. However, while 29 copies of the text are known, the earliest of these manuscripts dates from the 19th century. There is evidence in one manuscript tradition that it was commenced in Malacca before the Portuguese conquest in 1511.[27]

A tradition evolved in the writing of Malay *hikayat*s (narratives or 'histories') and other literary works that led to a quite standardised style of language, to which the term 'Classical Malay' often specifically refers. This writing, in works like *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, *Sejarah Melayu* and many others, became highly stylised and quite different from any spoken variety of Malay. Scribes throughout the Malay world, linked to one another via the archipelago's network of sea routes, became accustomed to writing in a similar manner, influenced very little by their own regional vernaculars. As the style evolved over the centuries, characteristics of earlier stages of literature tended to be replaced by the copyists'

adherence to the general literary style of the time, which developed into a form quite unlike spoken varieties of the language. One source comments: 'The consistency of this written superstratum was maintained by the intensity of regional networks. Most important were commercial and, above all, religious networks, with pilgrims, advanced students and scholars moving about the archipelago and travelling to Mecca.'[28] From the early 17th century Aceh letters it is clear that Classical Malay, while acquiring features not present in vernaculars, was very conservative in many ways and by then had become quite fixed, so that there are remarkable similarities in 19th-century manuscripts to the style of the letters of the early 17th century.

It is likely that classical style is very similar to the style developed in the royal court of Malacca in the 15th century, although no manuscripts from that time have survived. The fall of Malacca led to a dispersal of its scholars and scribes, who carried their tradition to various Malay courts in the Malay Peninsula, in Sumatra and further afield, significantly contributing to the standardisation process. This is not to say that there was no regional variation at all in Classical Malay literature and differences in vocabulary do show at times, especially in the style closest to speech, in the Malay poetic form, the *syair*.[29] The Jawi script is not well suited to indicate Malay phonology and, as a result, differences in pronunciation, especially of vowels, are not detectable in the script.

It was in the Riau-Johor Sultanate, where the main branch of the Malaccan royal dynasty continued, that some of the better known Classical Malay texts, like *Sejarah Melayu* and *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, the story of a Malaccan folk hero, were written. For this reason, the literary style came to be commonly referred to by many people as Riau-Johor Malay, or just Riau Malay (in Indonesia) or Johor Malay (in Malaysia). This literary tradition did not begin in the courts of Riau and Johor, but was a continuation of the literary tradition of Malacca. Because of the similarity in style of Classical Malay texts composed in other centres, all under the influence of Malaccan culture, the label 'Riau-Johor Malay' is often applied to them as well, even though they were written in such places as Aceh and Pasai in north Sumatra and Kutai in Borneo.

The following short extract from *Sejarah Melayu* is typical of classical literature. It is highly stylised; for instance, many sentences begin with *maka*, which functions simply to mark a new sentence. Sentences are short, with very few subordinate clauses and a dearth of descriptive adjectives and adverbials. The spelling is as in the published version.[30]

Maka tersebut-lah perkataan raja benua Siam. Dari-pada zaman dahulu kala-nya, bahawa negeri Siam itu Shahru 'n-nuwi nama-nya di-sebut orang, segala raja-raja yang di-bawah angin ini semua-nya ta'alok ka-pada-nya, Bubunnya nama raja-nya. Sa-telah kedengaran-lah ka-benua Siam bahawa Malaka negeri besar tiada ta'alok ka-padapnya, maka paduka Bubunnya pun menyuroh ka-Malaka hendak minta surat sembah. Maka Sultan Muzaffar Shah pun tiada mau menyembah ka-benua Siam. Maka raja benua Siam pun terlalu marah, lalu menyuroh berlengkap akan menyerang Malaka; Awi Chakra nama penglima-nya, membawa ra'ayat terlalu banyak. Maka di-wartakan orang ka-pada Sultan Muzaffar Shah, bahawa raja benua Siam menyurohkan hulubalang-nya, Awi Chakra nama-nya, membawa ra'ayat terlalu banyak tiada tepermenai, berjalan darat terus ka-hulu Pahang.

TRANSLATION:

Here now is the story of the Raja of Siam. From ancient times the country of Siam was known as Shahru'n-nuwi, and all princes of these regions below the wind were subject to Siam, the Raja of which was called the Bubunnya. And when the news reached Siam that Malaka was a great city but was not subject to Siam, the Bubunnya sent an envoy to Malaka to demand a letter of 'obeisance': but Sultan Muzaffar Shah refused to own allegiance to Siam. The Raja of Siam was very angry and ordered an expedition to be made ready for the invasion of Malaka. Awi Chakra was to command the expedition and to take a vast army with him. And word was brought to Sultan Muzaffar Shah that the Raja of Siam had ordered Awi Chakra, his war-chief, to lead an army, in numbers past counting, overland to Ulu Pahang.

The considerable homogeneity of language in the classical texts has led to a number of misconceptions. So often in history language of the past comes to be regarded by later generations as more pure, refined and correct than their own, partly because of the comparison of a highly stylised written form with their own spoken form. Thus the grammarians of Alexandria in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC regarded Greek literature of the ancient past as more pure and correct than their own speech.[31] So too did Riau-Johor Malay come to be regarded as more pure and refined than other varieties of Malay, which in comparison were regarded as inferior or even debased. Literary works that deviated in any way from the purest form of Riau-Johor Malay were regarded as corrupted, by both native and European commentators. When Malay education spread towards the end of the 19th century, it was the Riau-Johor form that was taken to be the only acceptable standard and, as a

consequence, this variety became a major basis for the standard Indonesian language.

Use of the names Riau-Johor and Riau for this literature led to another fallacy among the Dutch in the 19th century, which is still widespread today, even among scholars of Indonesian language. This is the belief that the name refers to the local dialect of Riau (and Johor). It is thus commonly heard that the people of Riau speak the purest form of Malay (or Indonesian).[32] The fact is that the scribes of the royal courts of Riau and Johor were continuing the literary tradition brought from Malacca and, while the style undoubtedly evolved further in the Riau-Johor area, it owes little, if anything, to the local vernaculars of the region.

Because of prejudice against local dialects of Malay, judged to be inferior by comparison with Classical Malay literature, they were rarely studied until comparatively recently. In preparation for the production of a dictionary as part of the efforts to produce a standard variety of the language, a Dutch philologist travelled to Riau and Johor in the 1850s, to the 'heartland' of Malay, where he assumed 'real Malay' was spoken. His collection of local speech appalled some of his contemporaries, as discussed in Chapter 5, because of its divergence from classical literature. There was very little interest in or study of vernaculars in the region until the 1980s and only recently has linguistic study shown just how different the local Riau dialects are from the Riau-Johor literary standard.[33]

Finally, the scribal tradition of updating texts has led to a common belief that there has been remarkably little change in Malay over the centuries. One British scholar wrote in 1913: 'It is a remarkable fact that the Malay language in the Straits of Malacca has remained practically the same for centuries … the letters written from the court of Acheen to Queen Elizabeth and King James I of England could to-day be read and thoroughly understood by any fourth standard boy in the Malay vernacular schools of the Straits Settlements.' He goes on: 'The only important changes which have taken place in the spoken language of the Malays in the past 300 years appear to have been through the addition of … Arabic words'.[34]

These statements completely overlook the conservatism of the type of Malay taught in schools at the time, based as it was on the literary Classical Malay. They also reveal the rejection of other varieties of Malay as entirely unworthy of consideration, and thus a failure to understand just how different the 'spoken language of the Malays' really is from the conservative variety taught in schools. The attitude persists to the present in some circles. One writer stated in 1998: 'Traditional Malay is the

term applied to the Malay that spread so widely through the Indonesian archipelago up to the nineteenth century … It showed a remarkable stability over the centuries, and school children can be taught to read and understand the Malay used almost 400 years ago without much difficulty.'[35] This is similar to commenting that English-speaking school children today can be taught to understand the King James Bible, written at the same time as the 'Golden Letter', and then assuming that their colloquial speech is very similar to it. Although people today who are familiar with the King James Bible can understand it, this is hardly evidence that English has been remarkably stable over the centuries. The same is true of Malay.

MUNSHI ABDULLAH

The first individual writer in Malay of whom we know was Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi, known as Munshi Abdullah. Writing in the early part of the 19th century, at the end of the period of Classical Malay literature, he has been called one of the greatest innovators in Malay letters.[36] Although of mixed Arab and Tamil ancestry, he was a native speaker of Malay who served for a time with Thomas Stamford Raffles, founder of Singapore and lieutenant-governor of the Indies during the period of British rule (1811–16). In his autobiographical works he gave detailed sketches of life in Singapore, Malacca and other places, in writings that were more individualistic than any in the Malay language before him.

> A champion of the Malay language, Abdullah also showed the way to its modern usage … he was writing in a time of transition and his language is clearly taken from the classical and partly moulded from it. He sculpted it to describe new situations and predicaments that had, at that time, never been experienced by the Malay community or language — the confrontation with the colonial government and Western ways, political, religious and cultural.[37]

His work was an inspiration to future generations of writers and marks an early stage in the transition from Classical Malay literature to the literature of early 20th-century novelists. The following passage is taken from his discussion of Raffles.[38] The text retains many of the formulaic expressions of Classical Malay writing, such as use of *maka* to mark a new sentence or clause. However, the insightful description of a personality was something new in Malay writing.

> *Sebermula maka pada suatu hari Tuan Raffles itu tengah berkata-kata dengan jurutulisnya dari hal hendak membalas surat kepada Raja Sambas. Maka tiba-tiba, datanglah seorang orang Malayu membawa*

enam buah kepala-kepala durian, disangkanya Tuan Raffles itu hendak membeli durian, lalu dibawanya masuk ke dalam rumah. Ia berdiri di pintu. Maka Tuan Raffles pun mendapatlah bahu durian itu. Maka dengan segeranya ditutupnya hidungnya, larilah ia naik ke atas. Maka heranlah semua orang melihatkan halnya itu berlari, tiada diketahui ia tiada boleh mencium bahu durian. Maka sebentar lagi dipanggilnya akan supai yang menjaga pintu itu, katanya: 'Siapa bawa buah durian ke mari?' Maka diunjukkannya orang Melayu itu. Maka disuruhnya keluar lekas-lekas serta ia memberi perintah kepada supai itu, 'Seorang pun jangan beri bawa lalu durian dari pintu ini'. Maka daripada hari itu seorang pun tiadalah berani membawa durian lagi.

TRANSLATION:

One day while Mr. Raffles was in the middle of discussing with his Malay clerk the reply which he wished to be sent to the ruler of Sambas one of the Malays suddenly came in bearing six durians. Thinking that Mr. Raffles liked to buy durians he brought them into the house and stood waiting near the door. But as soon as Mr. Raffles caught the smell of the durian he held his nose and ran upstairs. Everyone was surprised to see him run like this for they did not realise that he could not stand the smell of a durian. A moment later he called the Sepoy guard and said 'Who brought those durian here?' When they pointed to a Malay he told him to leave quickly and ordered the guard 'Never allow anyone to bring durians to the door again'. From that day onwards no one dared to bring any more durians.

EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

The Classical Malay period, very broadly from the end of the 14th century to the beginning of the 19th century, was a period in which Malays, receptive to outside ideas and influences, borrowed extensively from other languages. This section deals briefly with borrowing from some of the Asian sources.

The influence of Sanskrit on Malay began during the time of Srivijaya or even earlier; the existence of a Hindu kingdom in Borneo in AD 400 provides good evidence that it was earlier. The Minye Tujuh and Minangkabau inscriptions of the late 14th century demonstrate a continuation of Sanskrit influence at that time and, moreover, of assimilation of Sanskrit words, which had probably barely begun at the time of the 7th-century inscriptions. Indian traders and seamen were not speakers of Sanskrit but of languages that had descended from Sanskrit, such as Hindi, and of unrelated Indian languages, such as Tamil, and

these also contributed to the Malay lexicon. While Sanskrit was largely introduced via priests and scribes associated with royal courts, these other languages were brought by mercantile travellers to Indonesia and perhaps also by Malays who had travelled to India. Tamil was probably the most important Indian source of borrowings after Sanskrit, with Hindi, Gujerati and other languages also contributing.[39]

Tamil is today one of the four official languages of Singapore, the Tamil-speaking population having largely arrived during the British period. However, Tamils had been conspicuous in the archipelago much earlier, especially since the period of the powerful southern Indian kingdom of Chola in the 11th century. By that time, Tamils were among the most important trading peoples of maritime Asia. Their significance in Sumatran and Malay Peninsula trading continued for centuries and borrowings into Malay from Tamil increased between the 15th and 19th centuries due to their commercial activities.[40] In the 17th century, the Dutch East India Company was obliged to use Tamil as part of its correspondence. In Malacca and other seaports up to the 19th century, Malay terminology pertaining to book-keeping and accountancy was still largely Tamil.[41]

Borrowings from Tamil include such everyday words as:

kapal	ship
kolam	pool
logam	metal
mangga	mango (the English word was brought to Europe by the Portuguese, who took it from the Malay)
modal	capital (for investment)
nelayan	fisherman
satai, *sate*	sate, kebab
tunai	cash

Of other Indian languages, Hindi has contributed most. Words from this language include:

cap	seal, stamp
cium	kiss
curi	steal
ganja	Indian hemp, marijuana
kapas	cotton
kuli	labourer
kunci	key
roti	bread

With Islamic influence came borrowing from Arabic, but also from other languages whose speakers had been important in the spread of Islam — in particular, Persian. Islamic influence was underway in the west of the archipelago by the end of the 13th century, as accounts of travellers and the Trengganu inscription from the Malay Peninsula and the Minye Tujuh gravestone from northern Sumatra, both from the 14th century, indicate. Some borrowing from Arabic continues today, especially in Moslem circles. Moslem children are taught to recite the Quran to some extent and many attend elementary Arabic classes.

It is clear that borrowing from Arabic was directly into Malay and that Malay was the major vehicle for Arabic influence on other Indonesian languages. Malacca played an enormously important part in the absorption of Islamic culture and many loan words from Arabic entered the language during the Malacca period. Together with the spread of Malacca's culture went the dissemination of Islam, for which Malay, rather than Arabic, was the vehicle. (On the other hand, much Sanskrit influence on modern Indonesian has come via Old Javanese, as discussed in Chapter 8.) The Chinese wordlist based on materials collected in the 15th century (see p. 59) shows a number of Arabic words already in common use in Malaccan Malay, such as *kertas* (paper) and *kursi* (chair).

Malacca was not the only centre from which Arabic influence was disseminated and it is likely that many loan words were borrowed a number of times separately in different places and at different times, 'coalescing over the centuries into the loan word as we know it'.[42] Classical Malay literature, written in the Jawi adaptation of Arabic script, and containing many features of Arabic literature, was an important vehicle for the spreading of Arabic linguistic influences, in structure as well as vocabulary. A Malay–Dutch reader published in 1612 (for Malays to learn Dutch) contains many Arabic words in the Malay, along with Persian and Sanskrit.[43]

There are about 1000 words from Arabic in common use in the modern language. Many other words have appeared at certain times but have either disappeared entirely or are now rarely used, such as *kalam* (pen), which occurs in the Chinese list but was replaced later by the Portuguese *pena*. Many more words occur in the religious language of Moslems, although most of these cannot be said to be fully integrated. The representative words listed here are placed in semantic groups, although there are many borrowings in other categories. Only words that are in common use in modern Indonesian are mentioned.

As with borrowings from other languages, there have sometimes been changes of meaning or differences in pronunciation, not always mentioned here. A final vowel was usually added to avoid word-final consonant clusters, as with *salju* (snow) from Arabic *thalj*, and *ilmu* (knowledge, science) from Arabic *ilm*. Sometimes the final consonants are separated by a vowel, as with *fikir*, *pikir* (think) from *fikr*. In some cases, a single Arabic word has given rise to two Indonesian words, one a religious term, which tends to retain a shape more similar to that of Arabic, and a common word without religious association, which has undergone further change, such as *fardu* (religious obligation) and *perlu* (necessary), both from Arabic *fard* (religious obligation).

- RELIGION, MORAL VALUES, PHILOSOPHY:

adab	civilised
adat	customary law
adil	just
aib	shame
Allah	God
do'a	prayer
filsafat, falsafa	philosophy (borrowed by Arabic from Greek)
ikhlas	sincere
Islam	Islam
khotbah	sermon
mayat, jenazah	corpse
mesjid	mosque
nafsu	lust, passion
nasib	fate
wafat	to pass away

- EDUCATION AND WRITING:

abjad	alphabet
bab	chapter
eja	spell
huruf	letter of alphabet
jilid	volume
kalimat	sentence (Arabic *kalima* 'word').
kuliah	lecture (Arabic *kullīya* 'college' — the Dutch word *college* 'lecture' was avoided because of possible confusion in meaning with English 'college'[44])
majalah	magazine

- ANATOMY AND HEALTH:

badan	body
dubur	anus
rahim	womb
sehat	healthy
wabah	epidemic
wajah	face

- TIMES, DATES:

abad	century
musim	season
sa'at	moment
waktu	time
zaman, jaman	period of time

The days of the week are also from Arabic; for example, *Ahad* 'Sunday' (although *Minggu* from Portuguese is the common word), *Senin* 'Monday' (Arabic [*yaum al-*] *ithnain* 'day two').

In quite a number of cases, Malay has borrowed as separate lexical items different words built on the same base in Arabic. Thus *hadir* (attend) and *hadirin* (audience); *hakim* (judge), *hukum* (law) and *mahkamah* (court of law); *Islam* (Islam), *salam* (greetings — Arabic 'peace') and *selamat* (welfare, safety). Singular and plural forms in Arabic are sometimes combined as a compound; for example, *asal-usul* (origins) and *hal-ihwal* (circumstances, particulars). A number of set phrases are also sufficiently common that they can be regarded as entirely assimilated, such as *insya-Allah* (God willing) and *alhamdulillah* (praise be to God).

There is also a significant number of words of Persian origin in common use in modern Indonesian. Persian itself borrowed extensively from Arabic and frequently it is not possible to determine if an Arabic word borrowed into Malay came directly from Arabic or via Persian. Persian was an important language at the Moghal court in India and almost all Persian loan words, including words of Arabic origin, were borrowed via northern Indian languages. Some of these words had already entered the language during Malaccan times; the Chinese list gives *baju* (coat), *gandum* (flour) and several other words for common items.

Other borrowings from Persian include:

anggur	wine
bandar	port
dewan	council

kelasi	seaman
medan	field
nasabah	customer
pahlawan	champion
pasar	market (English 'bazaar' being from the same source)
saham	share, stock

Chinese has also contributed to the Malay/Indonesian lexicon, although compared with Sanskrit, Arabic and a number of other languages its influence has been slight — remarkably so, considering the extent of contact and the Malay willingness to borrow from other cultures. The Chinese had been in contact with the Malays from the 4th century, when sea trade opened through the Straits of Malacca to China, and in the 13th century the first permanent Chinese settlements appeared in Java.[45] Malacca established relations with China in 1403 and Chinese trade presence during the 15th century was significant. The Chinese–Malay wordlist, compiled from lists previously collected at Malacca in the 15th century, contains a number of Chinese words, including *cawan* (cup) and *sumpit* (chopsticks).

The number of Chinese living in Malay-speaking regions seems to have been small until the 17th century and only began to grow significantly in the following century.[46] A type of Low Malay known as Baba Malay developed among Hokkien Chinese communities, especially in the British settlements of Penang, Malacca and Singapore. Not surprisingly, it is considerably influenced by Hokkien Chinese structure. Structures that resemble those in Hokkien include the genitive construction with *punya* (possess), as in *gua punya ruma* (my house) for standard *rumah saya*. This and a number of other constructions are a regular feature of lingua franca forms of Malay and are sometimes regarded as a result of Hokkien influence. However, such constructions also occur in non-Austronesian languages of eastern Indonesia. As these had an influence on eastern lingua franca varieties of Malay, as in the Ternate letters (see p. 62), it is possible that the same types of construction resulted from two independent influences or that similarities in Hokkien are just coincidence.

Numerous words entered Jakarta Malay from Hokkien and from it into colloquial Jakartan Indonesian, including the pronouns *gua* (I) and *lu* (you). Some of the vocabulary has entered Standard Indonesian, with a considerable proportion of the words relating to food and drink, including:

capcai	mixed vegetable dish
mi, bakmi	noodles
tahu	soybean cake, tofu
tauge	bean sprouts
teh	tea
teko	kettle

Among other borrowings are:

becak	pedicab (from Hokkien *be* 'horse' and *chhia* 'carriage')
cat	paint
cengkih	clove
cukong	financial backer (usually ethnic Chinese)
lihai	shrewd, cunning
loteng	upstairs; attic
toko	shop

5
EUROPEAN INFLUENCES BEFORE THE 20th CENTURY

THE PORTUGUESE

The Portuguese were driven to Asia for many reasons, including trade and proselytising, and both these reasons saw a concentrated effort in the Moluccas, beginning almost immediately after the conquest of Malacca. In their desire to control the spice trade, the Portuguese set up centres in the east, at Ambon, Ternate and Banda. Later they established posts further south, in Flores and Timor. Portuguese teaching and preaching in the archipelago concentrated on using Malay. The Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier arrived in the Moluccas in 1546 and preached in Malay because it was the most widely understood language. However, none of the early works of the Portuguese missionaries appear to have been printed, being simply copied by hand. As a result, no manuscript of these early Malay materials has ever been found and there is little evidence of the kind of Malay that the Portuguese missionaries used.[1]

Portuguese creole, which had developed along the coasts of Africa and India, spread rapidly throughout the archipelago wherever the Portuguese set up trading posts.[2] From the beginning of their presence in the archipelago, it was common for the Portuguese to intermarry with local women, partly to prop up their very small numbers. This resulted in a considerable amount of bilingualism and encouraged the spread of their language, especially in the simplified creole variety.

Portuguese creole was so widely used as a lingua franca, along with Malay, that early attempts by the Dutch to replace it in low-level administration and in preaching failed. It became so well established that the

Dutch were obliged to use it in order to carry out their functions as administrators, and it continued as an important lingua franca in Batavia (present-day Jakarta) long after the Dutch established their headquarters there in 1619. Not only did the Dutch fail to replace the Portuguese creole, but they frequently used it as a first language themselves, many learning it from creole-speaking nannies or when they married women of Portuguese descent.[3]

For many years, Portuguese creole and Bazaar Malay existed side by side in uneasy rivalry as contact languages in the coastal cities and ports of the archipelago. By the early 17th century, the Dutch were putting great pressure on Portuguese posts, ousting them from Ambon in 1605 and from Malacca in 1641. The Portuguese ceded East Flores to the Dutch in 1859, thereafter retaining only East Timor.

With the passing of Portuguese power, their language gradually dwindled in importance, although it remained the most influential European language in the archipelago until the 19th century. In Malacca, Portuguese creole was still spoken in the 20th century by a small community of people of Eurasian descent.[4]

In East Timor, Portuguese remained the official language until the Indonesian take-over in 1975. Soon after gaining independence in 1999, the new East Timorese administration restored Portuguese as the official language (see p. 214).

Before dying out, Portuguese provided Malay with a considerable number of words, many referring to common items that the Portuguese had introduced to the archipelago.[5] As the first to bring Christianity and as their language was long used in religions affairs, even by the Dutch, the Portuguese introduced a number of words relating to Christianity, including:

gereja	church
Natal	Christmas
Paskah	Easter
rosario	rosary

Portuguese *Domingo* (Sunday) became *(hari) Minggu* (Sunday), *minggu* alone taking the meaning 'week'.

They introduced foodstuffs, including various fruits and vegetables from the Americas, their contributions including:

kaldu	broth
keju	cheese (Portuguese *queijo*)
ketela	sweet potato

mentega	butter
nanas	pineapple
papaya	papaw

Items of everyday apparel and the household include:

garpu	fork
jendela	window
kemeja	shirt
lemari	cupboard
meja	table
peniti	pin
pita	ribbon
saku	pocket
sepatu	shoe

Other items of everyday life include:

bangku	bench
bendera	flag
bola	ball
boneka	doll, puppet
kereta	carriage
pesta	party, feast
roda	wheel
sekolah	school
tembakau	tobacco

The Portuguese introduced innovations in warfare and, although many borrowings have become obsolete, a number remain, including:

amada	fleet
peluru	bullet
picu	trigger
serdadu	soldier

Almost all borrowings from Portuguese, including those above, are nouns referring to concrete items. There are very few borrowings for abstract nouns, verbs or other word classes, among the few being:

antero	whole
meski	although
seka	wipe
sita	confiscate
tempo	time

A list of words borrowed from European sources records 327 Portuguese borrowings into Indonesian, although it includes a considerable number of items that are obsolete.[6] Portuguese words were probably absorbed over a long period and in many different places. Raffles' criticism early in the 19th century of Low Malay as having much Portuguese influence (see p. 86) points to its considerable penetration by that time. Although the overall number of Portuguese words in modern Standard Indonesian is limited, they are significant in that so many are of high frequency, referring to everyday items. Eastern varieties of Malay, in particular, absorbed numerous Portuguese words, many of which do not occur in the standard language, the following common words in Manado Malay being a small sample:[7]

capeo	hat
kadera	chair
kintal	yard
lenso	handkerchief
milu	maize
sombar	shadow

THE DUTCH AND THEIR USE OF MALAY

In 1595, Dutch merchants financed an expedition to the East Indies under Cornelis de Houtman. The expedition showed, especially with the profits from the sale of pepper obtained at Banten (Bantam) in West Java, that successful trade with the archipelago was possible. Consequently, numerous Dutch trading companies were established and intensive efforts were made to capture the markets then being dominated by the Portuguese. Rivalry between the various companies was damaging to trade and, in 1602, the companies were amalgamated into the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (United East India Company), generally known by its initials, VOC. The Dutch launched an aggressive assault on the Portuguese spice trade and soon took control of Portuguese possessions in the Moluccas.

The English began to show an interest in the Moluccas at the same time as the Dutch and there was considerable rivalry between them, continuing into the 17th century. Eventually, the Dutch, with far larger fleets in the area, succeeded in triumphing over the English, who, after 1684, held only their pepper trading factory in Bencoolen (Benkulin) on the southwest coast of Sumatra. In 1786, the English established a vigorous trading settlement on Penang Island and one in Singapore in 1819.

In 1619, the Dutch founded Batavia on the site of the town of Jayakarta, where they already had a trading settlement, and made it the centre for their operations in Asia. The VOC established a co-operative relationship with the Malay Sultanate of Johor, which saw the Dutch as potential allies against continued attacks by Aceh and the Portuguese. At the end of 1640, the Dutch attacked Portuguese Malacca, with active support from Johor, and captured it in January 1641.

From their first contacts, the Dutch realised the importance of the Malay language throughout the archipelago. In 1599, Frederick de Houtman, brother of Cornelis, who had led the first Dutch expedition to the archipelago, was imprisoned in Aceh. During his two years there, he compiled a Malay–Dutch vocabulary, together with dialogues in Malay with Dutch translations. These were published in Holland in 1603, becoming the first published information on the Malay language made available in Europe. The work was reprinted in English in 1614 (from a translation into Latin!) for the benefit of those 'who happily shall hereafter undertake a voyage to the East-Indies', as is stated on the cover of the English version.[8] De Houtman's work of 1603 is of value because he drew on spoken language; it also demonstrates that the considerable interest that the Dutch showed in the language, which was eventually to have an enormous influence on it, began as soon as they appeared in the archipelago.

Other Dutch publications on Malay soon followed. When they took over government of the Moluccas from the Portuguese, the Dutch found a significant Christian community, sorely in need of Malay religious texts. In 1611, a Dutch merchant, Albert Ruyll, published the first book in Malay that was specifically intended for a Malay-speaking audience, namely the Christians of Ambon and other parts of the Moluccas. This was a 12-page primer to teach the Latin alphabet; it also included the Ten Commandments, prayers and the Articles of Faith. In 1612, he published a much longer work, *Spieghel vande Malaysche Tale* (Mirror of the Malay Language), which contained dialogues in Malay and Dutch and also included de Houtman's vocabulary list.[9] The first known grammar of Malay was written by Joannes Roman, a Protestant missionary, in 1674.[10]

From the beginning of their endeavours in the archipelago, the Dutch made use of Malay to a greater extent than was usual in colonial situations and, in attempting to mould it to their own ends over the next three centuries, they made a central contribution to the development of a standard form of the language.[11] Perhaps because their own

language was not of significance in Europe they were less assuming that it should be imposed on the native population than were the English, Spanish and French in their respective colonies.

From the establishment of Batavia in 1619 Portuguese, Malay and Dutch were used by the Protestant clergy. In Ambon, Dutch clergy at first tried to disseminate their language through religious and general education, but as early as 1618 it was observed that Dutch learnt at school was soon forgotten by children because they had such limited opportunities to use it. Because of the complex pattern of languages in the region and the fact that Malay was already well established as a lingua franca, they turned to this language. In trade and administration also, the VOC came to prefer the use of Malay.

There was much dispute among the Dutch as to which variety of Malay should be the language of religious propagation, including the publication of an Indies Bible. They debated vigorously about the relative worth of what they called High Malay and Low Malay. By High Malay they meant the literary variety that was developed in the royal court of Riau-Johor — also known as Riau Malay or Riau-Johor Malay — and which continued the literary tradition of the court of Malacca (see p. 68). Low Malay, also known by a number of other terms, including Bazaar Malay, referred to a variety of local vernaculars, in particular those varieties in the east that had developed as a result of trade and that were influenced by local languages (see p. 42). Inevitably, Low Malay, which was rarely written, suffered in comparison with the more elaborate form used in literature. To the Dutch, High Malay was more refined, pure and expressive. Its prestige derived from this and from the fact that it was identified with the 'Malay heartland', neither contaminated by foreign elements nor 'degenerate' through lack of cultivation.

Some clergy argued that High Malay should be used and that a unitary and pure form of the language would be in the interests of the Dutch and Christianity in the archipelago. Others were strongly opposed to the use of High Malay in the Moluccas, arguing that the Low Malay familiar to the inhabitants of each region should be used in preaching and that there should not be a standardised form thrust on populations that did not understand it; the VOC's Christian enterprise could lose its identification with populations throughout the Indies if it attempted to impose a single unfamiliar form of Malay on them. The choice was thus between pure High Malay or intelligible Low Malay. The clerics who argued for High Malay were linguists who also had

influence with the Indies establishment. In 1677, orders were sent from Batavia to Ambon for High Malay to be used. In a letter soon afterwards, sent by the VOC's directors in the Netherlands, 'their Nobilities charged, concerning the Malay language, that now in Batavia and elsewhere had been very much corrupted, that it should be restored to its old purity'.[12]

One of the strongest proponents of Low Malay, the clergyman François Valentyn, argued that it was flexible and locally adaptable. He declared that the authorities in Batavia wanted to force an artificial High Malay on areas where a form of Low Malay, or no Malay at all, was spoken. Valentyn's vigorous efforts against a standardised form of Malay were ultimately unsuccessful. The VOC's steps to promote High Malay led, in 1731, to the Bible translation by Leydekker and Werndly, followed by Werndly's Malay grammar in 1736. These High Malay works provided 'enduring standards for religious and general education in areas where the Company and its successor, the Netherlands Indies government, introduced or regulated the Malay language', according to one scholar,[13] although another refers to Leydekker's Bible as a 'stilted, pseudo-Arabicised translation'.[14] Whatever the value of these works, the language used was a considerably different kind of Malay from that familiar to the people of Ambon and other areas in the east where creole-based forms of the language were spoken.

In the mid-18th century, a serious decline in the spice trade led the Dutch to reduce their activities in the east and move the centre of their operations to Java. The VOC continued to encourage High Malay, but this language did not gain acceptance in Java or in other parts of the archipelago and its use continued to receive criticism. Instead, indigenous rulers and VOC administrators communicated with each other via a variety of Low Malay that came to be called in Dutch *Dienst Maleisch* (Service Malay), because of its association with the civil service. This, like other varieties of Low Malay used in Java, had been heavily influenced by Javanese and, to a lesser extent, by Sundanese. It was, in addition, influenced by Ambon Malay, a variety of eastern lingua franca Malay, as in the use of possessive constructions with *punya* (possess); for instance, *kita punya ruma* (our house) for traditional Malay *rumah kita*, and the use of *ini* (this) and *itu* (that) before, instead of after, the noun. These constructions are characteristic of the local non-Austronesian languages that had influenced Malay in the east.

Through the 18th century, the Dutch generally dealt with the Javanese via Malay. For the brief period from 1811 to 1816, the Dutch

colonies were taken over by the British, the Netherlands having been conquered by the French. The British administrator, Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Stamford Raffles, moved to promote the Javanese language, criticising earlier attempts to communicate with the Javanese through what he referred to as 'a barbarous dialect of Malays, confounded and confused by the introduction of Portuguese and Dutch'.[15] This began a period of strong Javanese language promotion which, however, met with little success.

A complaint to the Dutch king in 1842 stated that most officials were unable to understand Javanese and that they tended to use a form of Low Malay unknown to 'the great mass of the people'. More emphasis was then placed on training Dutch civil servants in Javanese, but still with little success. In 1893, the Batavia-born linguist and civil servant AA Fokker wrote that 'most young officials quickly gave up speaking Javanese after some desperate attempts — if they ever made them',[16] shifting thereafter to Service Malay. The inability of Dutch officials to acquire basic communication skills in Javanese, and frequent Dutch discouragement of the use of Dutch by educated Javanese, tended to force both sides into greater use of Malay.

1824: THE DIVIDING OF THE MALAY WORLD

In 1824, a treaty between the Dutch and British determined their separate spheres of control and interest in the archipelago. (The VOC's charter had expired in 1799 and its role thereafter had been taken over by the Dutch government.) The British ceded their Bencoolen possession and the Dutch handed over Malacca. The demarcation line, later extended to Borneo, separated the British and Dutch colonies, and was thus the origin of the present-day borders between Indonesia on the one side and Malaysia, together with Singapore and Brunei, on the other. Significantly for the history of the Malay language, the Anglo-Dutch line passed right through the territory of the Riau-Johor Sultanate.

Although fixed boundaries were not a feature of pre-colonial Southeast Asia, this area was always a region of cultural unity, a single Malay kingdom, and the centre of the literary form known as Classical Malay or Riau-Johor Malay. In drawing their line, the colonial powers divided the kingdom, permanently severing east coast Sumatra from the peninsula. The Riau-Lingga archipelago, now cut off from the peninsula, became a separate sultanate from Johor. Because both the British and the Dutch regarded Riau-Johor Malay as the legitimate standard

form of the language, it retained its prestige on both sides of the border, although it now came under different influences in the two colonies. Thus a decision made far away, which took no account of ethnic or linguistic factors, resulted by chance in the one form of Malay becoming the basis for the standard variety of the national language in both Indonesia and Malaysia.

MOVES TOWARDS STANDARDISATION

In the middle of the 19th century, the Dutch authorities, increasingly aware of how unsatisfactory was the use of various lingua franca forms of Malay, began to work towards standardisation of the language. As one writer put it: 'the need to construct a standard Malay-to-be was more urgently felt than ever before — for the sake of an effective bureaucracy, a successful army, a profitable economy'.[17] Moves towards a standardised form of the language were also contributed to by orders from the governor-general at the time for Malay to be used in dealings with local rulers outside Java.

In the second half of the century, members of the local nobilities were incorporated into the administration as lower civil servants and it became necessary to give these people an education that could make them fit for their functions.[18] This led to the establishment of government elementary schools for indigenes, beginning in 1849. In areas where major languages were spoken, such as Javanese and Sundanese, these became the medium of education, while Malay was taught as a subject. Where there was no important regional language, Malay was used in teaching. Dutch education was limited to the Dutch themselves, but became available later to small groups of Christians, especially in Ambon and Minahasa, the region surrounding Manado in northern Sulawesi, and to the children of aristocrats in Java. In 1871, High Malay became the official medium of instruction in all government Malay-language schools.[19]

Moves towards standardisation included commissioning of a Malay–Dutch dictionary in 1855. Despite considerable debate, agreement was reached among influential government advisors that 'real' Malay was the only acceptable basis for a standardised form, that is the Malay of the Malay 'heartland' of Riau and Malacca. Thus, in preparation of the new dictionary, the linguist H von de Wall travelled to Riau and the Malay Peninsula in the 1850s to collect materials on 'pure and correct' Malay. The dictionary was finally completed in 1877, under the linguist HN van der Tuuk. Perhaps because von de Wall

believed Riau speech to be 'pure' Malay, he used almost no literary source materials and the dictionary never became the standard work that was hoped for.[20] It contained a great deal of local Riau material and van der Tuuk criticised the work because spoken Riau Malay deviated considerably from the language of Malay literature, which von de Wall had almost completely ignored. Van der Tuuk stated that Riau speech seemed to be affected by 'the broken language' spoken by Chinese and by the *brabbeltaal* (gibberish) Malay spoken by many Dutch.[21] This is yet another example of Europeans failing to recognise the worth of spoken varieties of Malay and rejecting them as inferior to the stylised literary language.

Van der Tuuk argued strongly for the use of High Malay, or 'pure' Malay, in education and administration. He vehemently condemned Europeans for their use of 'gibberish' — their imitation of Low Malay — and Service Malay, which he regarded as devoid of value. He criticised Europeans for not taking the trouble to learn good Malay and urged the government to set standards for correct usage, as the only way for promoting advancement of the native population.

Not all Dutch scholars involved in debate over directions for government language policy agreed with van der Tuuk. There were those who protested that High Malay was becoming particularly identified with the administration and was being forced on unwilling learners. N Graafland, a missionary in Manado, like van der Tuuk supported efforts for the purification and improvement of the language. He advocated extension of well-written publications throughout the archipelago, saying that this could lead to greater unity and enrichment of the language. Nevertheless, he declared that van der Tuuk and others of similar mind did not know the conditions and languages in the east of the archipelago, where the Malay culture they referred to did not exist; Malacca or Riau Malay was unusable in the east, where local varieties of the language were spoken. To work for the purification and improvement of Malay was, Graafland said, possible and desirable, but coercion would not succeed; Low Malay was a living language, intimately connected with the people who used it.

Until the end of the century there were voices raised against use by the Dutch administration and missionaries of any sort of Malay instead of regional languages. One opponent, commenting in 1889 on the situation in Aceh, stated that it was 'a disgrace that such a language [Low Malay] should be thrust onto millions of natives' and that there were still missionaries continuing 'in incomprehensible short-sightedness, to

thrust Malay onto populations for whom this language is just as foreign as, for instance, Russian for a Hollander'.[22] Other voices arguing for the use of regional languages were heard, but there were also those who urged greater use of Dutch. Moreover, there were still those who argued for education to be in Dutch, this being more likely to foster Western-style progress. The linguist H Kern called for the use of Dutch in schools instead of Malay in regions where Malay was not the native language, even recommending Dutch 'as the vehicle for culture among the Javanese'. He criticised those Dutch who were intolerant of educated Indonesians using Dutch to them, but who preferred instead to use a 'gibberish' kind of Malay. Repeatedly between 1890 and 1909, the government tried to encourage the use of Dutch in dealings with the indigenous population but encountered resistance from many regional administrations.

Nevertheless, Malay was coming to be increasingly used for communication between people from different language areas and the understanding became widespread among the Dutch that to attempt to 'civilise' the people in a large variety of languages would be an endless task. Fokker wrote in 1891 that attention had to be given to the question of which language had the most value as a medium of civilisation for the indigenous population and stated that 'no language is so suitable for the native to acquire our concepts in as Malay. It is astonishing that this can still be doubted'.[23] Fokker predicted that there would come a time when every native who had attended lower school would be ashamed of not knowing Riau Malay. He stated that the Dutch could contribute much to the dissemination of Malay, and that there was need for it to become 'a universal language of civilisation'. He argued that 'unity of language gives solidarity', little realising that before long nationalists would be advancing similar arguments for Malay to become the language of unity.

NEWSPAPERS AND THEIR INFLUENCE

Malay-language newspapers began to appear in 1856 and played their part in the controversies over the type of Malay that was appropriate.[24] The first was *Soerat Kabar Bahasa Melaijoe* (Malay Language Newspaper), published in Surabaya. Despite using Low Malay, this newspaper did not attract enough subscribers to survive long. In the same year there appeared a monthly, *Bintang Oetara* (Northern Star), published in Holland to avoid official restrictions on locally printed matter. The paper used High Malay and, although it had as one of its

aims the enlightenment of the people through Malay, it has been criticised for the unintelligibility of the language to many readers, employing many seldom-used Arabic terms instead of simple widely understood expressions. A new editor of the newspaper stated that he would 'use a more simple form of the Malay language', which he called *Melayu luar* (outsiders' Malay), which apparently was in the style of Munsyi Abdullah and not the Low Malay of *Soerat Kabar Bahasa Melaijoe*. Although these papers were short-lived, others soon followed. *Bintang Timor* (Eastern Star), first published in Surabaya in 1862, informed its readers that its usage was Low Malay, while *Soerat Chabar Batawie* (The Batavia Newspaper) in 1858 announced that it would use a type of language *tiada terlaloe tinggi, tetapi tiada lagi terlaloe rindah, soepaija segala orang boleh mengarti, siapa djoega jang mengarti bahasa Malaijoe, adanja* (not too high, but not too low either, so that anybody who knows Malay will be able to understand it).[25]

Journalists and editors saw the problem of the variation in Malay and sought out the variety that would best accommodate the needs of their readership. With the exception of the early editions of *Bintang Oetara*, they did not attempt to enlighten or improve their readers by choice of purely High Malay, although *Soerat Chabar Betawie* did state that it would use High Malay in its education sections. Clearly, Low Malay was necessary for newspapers that wanted to reach a variety of groups within the community, including Chinese, Eurasians, Arabs and Indonesians of various linguistic backgrounds. A newspaper that consistently used High Malay was considered to have little chance of success. By selecting elements from various types of Malay, the papers played a significant part over the next century in the development of a general form of cultivated Malay, the forerunner of Standard Indonesian.

Towards the end of the 19th century there was a considerable increase in the number of popular publications in Malay, most of them in forms of Low Malay. As well as a variety of short-lived newspapers and periodicals, booklets on a great variety of topics also appeared, including cookbooks, books of religious instruction, military songbooks, children's storybooks, reports on agricultural experiments, 'even sordid romances and cheap detective stories'.[26]

The first newspaper for *Peranakan* (locally born, Malay-speaking) Chinese was *Mataharie* (The Sun), which began publication in Batavia in 1869. It too was in Low Malay, which was by far the most effective form of written communication for literate Chinese in the Indies.[27]

THE INFLUENCE OF VAN OPHUIJSEN

One significant step towards standardisation of Malay was the introduction of a systematic spelling. There had previously been no standardised Latin-based spelling for Malay, which was printed with a great deal of variation in Dutch publications. With an expanding administration and education system, recognition of the need for standardisation in spelling grew in the last half of the 19th century. This was linked to the Dutch East Indies government's aim to extend and unify its control throughout the archipelago. Some Dutch scholars were also critical of the Arabic-based Jawi script, because its conventions were unsystematic and unsuited to Malay phonology and because of its perceived links with Islamic militancy.

One of the most significant figures in the standardisation of Malay was CA van Ophuijsen, an inspector of indigenous education.[28] He recommended the issuing of a wordlist as a step towards standardising spelling, to overcome the 'existing anarchy'. A government advisor, Snouck Hurgronje, recommended in 1895 that van Ophuijsen's plan be carried out, stating that the compiler ought to ascertain the pronunciation of the 'cultivated Malays of Riau and elsewhere'.[29] In 1896, van Ophuijsen was commissioned by the government to assemble the data necessary for a fixed system of spelling Malay with Latin characters for use in indigenous education. He travelled through the foremost Malay-language areas, including outside the Dutch East Indies, in Malacca, Johor and other places on the Malay Peninsula, in search of the 'purest' pronunciation.

Van Ophuijsen's *Kitab Logat Melayu: Woordenlijst voor de spelling der Malaisch taal met Latijnsch karakter* (Malay Vocabulary: Wordlist for the spelling of the Malay language with Latin characters), published in Batavia in 1901, contained 10 130 Malay words in the new spelling, which was based on Dutch spelling principles. The major differences with the spelling of Malay introduced by the British included the use of *dj* for the first and last sound in 'judge' (for which the British used the letter 'j'), *tj* for the first and last sound in 'church' (for which the British used the letters 'ch'), *j* for the first sound in 'yet' (for which the British used the letter 'y'), and *oe* for the vowel in 'book' (for which the British used the letter 'u'). The new spelling was implemented in a circular from the Director of Education in 1902, with the specification that those engaged in teaching Malay in the indigenous education system should employ this spelling and that only the 10 000 words in the list were to be acceptable in the school system.[30] Thus, as an example, *bisa,*

the everyday word for 'can, be able' for many Indonesians, had to be regarded as unacceptable in schools because it did not appear in the list, the listed High Malay word *dapat* being required.

By providing a stock of the commonest words with a standardised spelling and pronunciation, van Ophuijsen made a significant contribution to standardisation of the language, particularly because of the use of his book in the education system. His book can be regarded as the first deliberate act of language planning for the language. This work was followed in 1910 by his authoritative grammar of Malay. In this, as in the wordlist, he took the view that the best Malay was to be found in the literature of the Malay 'heartland'. As one writer puts it:

> it is rather amazing that this great scholar did not have the slightest hesitation in assuming that the best and most correct Malay was used in the Malay heartland rather than anywhere else. Maybe even more amazing is to see how, after he had always laid so much emphasis on the importance of oral traditions and spoken forms of language, he now based the standard Malay on the written forms of Malay he found in Riau manuscripts rather than on the conversations he had with the local population.[31]

In justifying this approach, van Ophuijsen wrote in the introduction to his grammar:

> Among the various dialects Malays themselves — and after all, they are the only qualified judges — tend to give preference to the dialect that is spoken in Johor, a part of Malacca, in the Riau-Lingga Archipelago. This so-called Riau-Johor Malay in which the greatest part of the literature is presented will be treated in this book.[32]

Through his great influence on the education system in the early part of the 20th century, in his spelling and his grammar — which quickly established itself as an essential guide to correct usage — van Ophuijsen ensured that the Classical Malay tradition became the basis for School Malay, the type of Malay both taught and used as the medium of instruction in the education system. As a consequence of its association with education and as the variety of the language used in most writing, it formed the basis for the standardised formal Indonesian that was to evolve in the 20th century. On the other hand, there was no such standardising influence on colloquial forms of the language, which continued to thrive in bewildering variety. The selection for use in the school system of a highly constructed formal variety of the language was one of the most significant contributing factors to the emergence of diglossia in the language in the 20th century (see p. 121).

6
THE 20th CENTURY TO 1945

THE SITUATION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CENTURY

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Dutch were continuing with their debates about the appropriate variety of Malay for archipelago-wide communication. The indigenous population, for whom varieties of Low Malay served as the lingua franca throughout the archipelago, were largely oblivious to this debate. Despite unifying activities, standardisation of Malay in the Dutch East Indies still faced considerable obstacles. Many Dutch officials in Java were critical of the use of 'correct' Malay in public notices and in official dealings with Javanese because it was poorly understood, and Javanese-Malay colloquial speech was often used in translating government ordinances. While decisions by the Dutch had set the language on its course to the future, Indonesians began to play an increasingly important role; by the 1920s, they were to completely eclipse the Dutch in determining the future direction of the language.

Dutch served as the language of higher learning and most administration, as well as all branches of technology and science, just as English did in the British colonies. As a consequence, Malay was alienated from scientific and technological advances and failed to develop the necessary lexicon and powers of expression to function in new social situations.

From 1900, there were moves towards giving the indigenous population access to European culture, for which a command of Dutch was seen as indispensable. Consequently, there took place a gradual expansion in Dutch-language education for Indonesian children, particularly those of the upper classes. As increasing numbers of Indonesian

children were able to gain a Dutch education, their numbers began to put pressure on the education system meant for Europeans. To relieve this pressure, Dutch-Native schools were established in 1914 with education in Dutch, providing a five-year course for children of the indigenous elite.[1] Although the major purpose of these schools was to train upper classes for the public service, they were also partly in response to demands by Indonesian cultural groups for greater opportunities to acquire Dutch and to continue their education to higher levels.

This led to a rapid increase in the number of Dutch-speaking Western-oriented members of the indigenous elite. As the number of people bilingual in Dutch and Malay increased, Dutch influence on Malay began to grow, even though these bilinguals represented only a minute fraction of the overall Indies population. Malay now began to absorb Dutch elements at an increasing rate. Not only was it taking in Dutch words, but slowly there began the process of increasing powers of expression in many areas of discourse in which the language had not previously been used.

Despite the policy of making Dutch more available, there was still resentment among some Dutch colonials at being addressed in Dutch by Indonesians. There was a widespread belief among the Dutch that access to their language would threaten their position through natives imitating their customs and being 'less obedient'.[2] In their dealings with Indonesians, these people continued to use the 'gibberish' Malay that had long been condemned by purists.

As mentioned, towards the end of the 19th century a variety of High Malay began to emerge in the school system, which became known as School Malay. This was based on the Classical (Riau) Malay tradition in morphology and syntax, with Latin orthography. Many school teachers were from the Minangkabau ethnic group of Sumatra and they were strongly influenced by van Ophuijsen, through his *Kitab Logat Melayu* and grammar and his personal influence as an inspector of schools in Sumatra. They played the most prominent part in shaping School Malay and through them a distinctive Minangkabau influence emerged. The teacher training college in Bukit Tinggi in the Minangkabau language area, where they were trained, was one of the major centres for the shaping of the formal language. The school teachers were very conscious of their role in nurturing a 'superior' form of the language; they saw themselves as setting the norm for good style and 'they acted as if they were the guardians of the purity of the language'.[3]

BALAI PUSTAKA

With primary education becoming more widely available, the government saw the need for a greater variety of 'better' reading materials than those of popular literature and the press. In 1908, the *Commissie voor de Volkslectuur* (Committee of Popular Literature) was established to provide suitable publications, not only to meet the growing need for educational works, but also for light reading.[4] Publications by the *Volkslectuur*, as it was generally called, were produced in School Malay. There was a political dimension to its publications, as only ideologically appropriate works were printed, deemed suitable by the Dutch authorities for the new Indonesian intelligentsia.[5] Nevertheless, it had the aim of modernising and promoting the spread of Malay and made reading materials on popular science and literature widely available. From its beginning, *Volkslectuur* made use of the van Ophuijsen spelling system, and most newspapers quickly adopted it as well, helping to rapidly spread it as the standard spelling for Indies Malay. Some authors, however, among whom many were Malay-speaking Chinese writing in varieties of Low Malay, continued to use non-standard spelling and idiom up to the time of independence.

In 1917, the *Volkslectuur* was renamed *Balai Pustaka* (Publishing House — *Balai Poestaka* in the original spelling). *Balai Pustaka* published a large amount of modern, informative and educational material and thereby became a powerful force in promoting the spread of Malay, although it also published in regional languages and Dutch. Western novels deemed fit by the authorities for the Indonesian public were translated into Malay and were influential in the development of Indonesian novel writing.[6] At a time when there were virtually no bookshops, *Balai Pustaka*, under the guidance of its far-sighted leader, DA Rinkes, quickly developed a network of agencies and many hundreds of libraries throughout the archipelago. *Balai Pustaka* publications provided the public with not only novels and translations, but booklets on a vast range of topics, including such practical works as advice on child care and bicycle repair. Rinkes even devised motorised bookstalls, which could travel into remote regions, further opening up access to *Balai Pustaka*'s works and to the type of Malay that it wished to propagate.[7]

Through *Balai Pustaka* publications, writers and school teachers from the Minangkabau region of Sumatra played a substantial part in the development of a standardised language. Of particular importance was the influence of Nur Sutan Iskandar, one of the Sumatran editors at *Balai Pustaka*.[8] Iskandar had a strong influence on the moulding of

pre-war standard Malay. He and his colleagues at *Balai Pustaka* were rigid in their insistence on high standards and, like the Minangkabau school teachers, from whose ranks many of them had been drawn, they contributed to Minangkabau influence on the language. *Balai Pustaka* also stimulated writing by Indonesian authors, publishing a large number of novels. In so doing, it played a fundamental role in the development of modern Indonesian literature. 'It is no exaggeration to state that the coming into being of the modern Indonesian novel, and its popularity, was largely made possible through the existence of *Balai Pustaka* and the enlightened policy of its successive directors'.[9] The remarkable uniformity of language of the pre-war novels produced by *Balai Pustaka* contributed strongly to standardising the written language. There was a significant growth in vocabulary and syntactic elaboration as the language became employed for a greater range of functions than it had in traditional literature, with novels touching on interpersonal relations and social issues.

Not all works of literature were produced by *Balai Pustaka*; in fact, one of the reasons for its existence was to combat what were seen as substandard (as well as subversive) writings. This included a significant number of works by *Peranakan* Chinese in what is sometimes called Sino-Malay, although it has been claimed that this term had no relevance because the daily language of Malay-speaking Chinese varied from region to region, being similar in each location to the dialect of indigenous Malay speakers.[10] This literature was intended primarily for Chinese of lower socio-economic status and seems to have been of little interest to others, contributing little if anything to the growing standardisation of the written language.[11] It became increasingly marginalised before finally disappearing in the early years of independence.[12]

Balai Pustaka's influence on the developing language was strengthened by its privileged position as a government institution. Authors knew that they would receive reasonable fees, prompt publication and wide distribution.[13] The condition was that they adhered to *Balai Pustaka*'s strict guidelines on language. Private publishers found it extremely difficult to compete with such advantages and, after the imposition of stricter censorship following the Communist uprising in 1926, it became impossible to publish ideologically unacceptable materials.

It was not only the language of novels that was shaped by *Balai Pustaka*; it affected all other types of writing as well. The following

example illustrates its influence on the language of administration. In 1918, the Department of the Interior began producing practical manuals for Indonesian officials throughout Java. Malay of the Service Malay variety, called *Dienst Maleisch* in Dutch and *Melayu dinas* in Malay, was the major language used in lower echelons of the colonial administration and there were calls for the original Dutch to be translated into Service Malay in the manuals. However, *Balai Pustaka*, which was responsible for the translations, argued that Service Malay varied from region to region throughout Java and thus was inappropriate in manuals that had to be used everywhere. The manuals therefore appeared in School Malay, helping to further spread the influence of this variety.[14]

OTHER INFLUENCES AND THE EMERGENCE OF GENERAL CULTIVATED MALAY

Despite the prominence of the Minangkabau teachers, editors and writers, it would be wrong to think that they had a monopoly in influencing *Balai Pustaka*. Authors, translators and editors included Javanese and people from other ethnic groups and these too contributed to *Balai Pustaka*'s language.[15] The first Malay-language weekly magazine was edited by a Madurese.[16] Nor would it be correct to think that *Balai Pustaka* had a monopoly on the developing language. Its influence was on formal writing, but even here there were other factors shaping the language.

The number of newspapers expanded rapidly during the early part of the century. *Balai Pustaka*, which kept up as complete a documentation as it could, subscribed to 40 newspapers in 1918 and to nearly 200 by the end of 1925, almost all of which used Malay.[17] The styles employed in these newspapers drew on elements of both High and Low Malay, but were largely associated with the spoken language and so were not characteristic of School Malay or of the style of *Balai Pustaka* publications. Newspapers contributed enormously to literacy in the language and also to expansion of vocabulary and grammatical elaboration, in large part under the influence of Dutch. Although there was a strong element of Low Malay in newspapers in the early decades of the century, there was a gradual shift in the style of language in the mainstream press; by independence, it was much more formal than it had been earlier in the century.

Malay also became the major language of the nationalist movement, although in practice the intellectuals and nationalists were usually more fluent in Dutch and tended to use this language in private situations. In

speeches and writings they used Malay, influenced both by School Malay and the hybrid variety emerging from the different streams in the press and popular literature.

In the early decades of the 20th century, there was thus a convergence of different varieties leading to the emergence of a General Cultivated Malay. This was essentially a continuation of High (Riau) Malay, passing through School Malay and *Balai Pustaka* Malay stages, but with significant input from the language of the press and even of colloquial varieties.[18] Added to this was the influence of Dutch, leading to grammatical elaboration and expansion of the lexicon.

Two things can be noted about this development. First, it occurred in Jakarta, or Batavia as it then was, the capital of the Dutch East Indies. Batavia was the location of most government offices and was a major centre of formal education. It contained many publishing houses, including *Balai Pustaka*, and was one of the major centres of trade. It was here that people from all areas of the archipelago came together most frequently, where most important newspapers were published and where the educated elite, the intellectuals and nationalists met. This environment offered the conditions for a convergence of the numerous varieties and for the emergence of a standardised form of the language. By about 1930, a rather stable standardised form of written Malay had appeared, which was being used in an ever-increasing number of domains.[19] The capital city has been the centre in which almost all developments in the language have occurred until the present.

Secondly, developments at this stage were largely confined to the language of the educated minority. The great majority of Indonesians in the pre-war period spoke mainly or solely their regional language (Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese on the island of Java). For most who spoke Malay it was a second language and not the language of the home, although it was the first language in areas of both traditional Malay (mainly parts of Sumatra and Borneo) and post-creole Malay (mainly in the eastern archipelago, but also including Batavia). None of these varieties was at that time much affected by the processes of convergence then occurring. This was largely confined to the Malay of those who had received a formal (Western) education, who in 1930 totalled about 8 per cent of the Batavian population. Among this group it influenced mainly their writing and their speech in public situations; it was these varieties, which can be grouped together loosely as formal language, which were converging to a recognisable standard of General Cultivated Malay, the model for good usage and the predecessor of

modern formal Indonesian. Informal varieties, on the other hand, including the informal speech of educated people, continued to display enormous regional variation, as they do today (although the everyday speech of educated Jakartans began to develop towards a recognisable colloquial standard later in the 20th century, as discussed in Chapter 8).

The General Cultivated Malay has been referred to as a koine (from Greek *koiné* 'common'), which can be defined as a 'stable linguistic variety which results from contact between varieties which are subsystems of the same linguistic system. Linguistically it is characterised by a mixture of features of the contributing varieties'. It comes about because of 'the need for unification among speakers of different dialects in a new environment'.[20] Typically, in the koineisation process the new variety undergoes a levelling out of grammatical differences between the contributing dialects, which results in grammatical simplification. However, in the case of General Cultivated Malay there is no evidence of such simplification occurring. Not only was the language acquiring greater syntactic complexity but morphologically, in its system of prefixes and suffixes, it was becoming more regularised and complex.

THE NATIONALISTS

One of the first signs of the emergence of a nationalist consciousness was the appearance in 1902 of the fortnightly newspaper *Bintang Hindia* (The Indies Star), which aimed to appeal to all educated sectors of society. 'For many Indonesians, the *Bintang Hindia* was an "eye-opener" impelling them to change their traditional values and attitudes for a more modern and Western approach to life';[21] it is said to have planted the seeds of a national awareness among the educated. As to its language, there was disagreement among the editors on language matters and it employed a mixture of literary Malay and Low Malay. By 1911, there was significant growth in the number of indigenous-run newspapers, whose contents were largely educational and propagandistic in nature.

Thus before the 1920s the nationalists and the literati had begun to take the initiative from the Dutch in shaping the language. The Dutch had played a fundamental role in shaping a common language, especially in the 19th century, with van Ophuijsen's spelling, introduced at the beginning of the 20th century, being the first act of language planning. But with their adherence to classical form and School Malay and the growth of national consciousness, the Dutch became increasingly irrelevant; by the late 1920s, developments in the language were fully under the control of the indigenous people themselves.

From 1915, groups formed by nationalist youths began to appear, the first being *Jong Java*. The concept of a unitary state comprising the whole of the Dutch East Indies began to take shape and, from 1918 onward, this was increasingly referred to as 'Indonesia'. Many among the young intellectuals lived in the Netherlands as students. There they functioned as one social group and among them consciousness of a common identity, that of being Indonesian, developed. Periodicals and associations that provided for single ethnic groups failed to gain any significant support, but the *Perhimpunan Indonesia* (Indonesian Association), which embraced all ethnic groups, was fully supported by the students. Through their journal *Indonesia Merdeka* (Free Indonesia) they began to express their aspirations for an independent and unitary nation.[22]

Returning to Indonesia, these students formed the core of the new national intelligentsia. Although fluent in Dutch and usually in a regional language, they adopted Malay as the language of their nationalist groups, as the symbol of national unity. In 1926, *Jong Java*, the largest youth organisation, strongly urged members to use Malay more frequently and the following year adopted Malay as its official language. In 1927, Sukarno and other young nationalists formed *Jong Indonesie*, renamed *Pemuda Indonesia* (Indonesian Youth) the same year, choosing to use Malay as their working language. In the same year, Sukarno founded the *Partai Nasional Indonesia* (Indonesian National Party), which accelerated the growing sense of unity. The use of Malay by the nationalists became a way of expressing their nationalistic beliefs and also facilitated the spread of their ideas from Java to the other islands. Recognising this, Sukarno said that the sooner Malay became widespread the sooner independence would be achieved.[23]

At the First Indonesian Youth Congress, held in Batavia from 30 April to 2 May 1926, the poet and radical nationalist Muhammad Yamin described the future possibilities for a national language. He stated that, in his opinion, of all the languages in Indonesia only two, Malay and Javanese, had any prospect of becoming the language of unity. He said he was convinced that it was Malay that would gradually become the language of wider communication and unity for the Indonesian people, and that Indonesian culture in future would find expression in the Malay language. It is an interesting comment on the attitudes and practices of the nationalists that Yamin, like all the speakers at the congress, was speaking in Dutch![24]

Mohamad Tabrani, one of the organisers of the congress, later wrote that he did not like the term Malay for the 'language of unity'. He informed

Yamin that if there was to be one nation, Indonesia, and one people, Indonesians, then if there was to be one language, it should be called Indonesian: *bahasa Indonesia*, not *bahasa Melayu*.[25] Yamin agreed with Tabrani, but they decided that a choice of name for the language should be deferred and put forward at the Second Indonesian Youth Congress.

THE SECOND INDONESIAN YOUTH CONGRESS AND THE *SUMPAH PEMUDA*

The Second Indonesian Youth Congress was held in Batavia on 27–28 October 1928. The participants were surprisingly young; the leaders were in their twenties and the majority of members were still high school students.[26] They were drawn from the wealthy, Dutch-educated elite and Dutch was the language in which they communicated with each other, although for this occasion most speakers used Malay. Only one newspaper, the Chinese-Malay paper *Keng Po*, sent a reporter, Wage Rudolph Soepratman. Dutch police are reported to have intervened during the first session, when one speaker used the word *kemerdekaan* 'freedom'.

In the first session, Yamin, the secretary of the congress, stated that Malay had been transformed into Indonesian and was producing a sense of unity in the multiethnic society. The reporter Soepratman was given permission to play a melody he had recently composed on the violin. The tune, *Indonesia Raya* (Great Indonesia), was to become the national anthem of independent Indonesia. (Soepratman was not allowed to sing the words he had composed, as the session chairman was afraid that the police would intervene.)

Following Soepratman's performance, the chairman read the draft resolution that subsequently became known as the *Sumpah Pemuda* (The Youth Pledge —also sometimes translated 'The Oath of the Youth'). The *Sumpah Pemuda* is as follows:

Pertama:	*Kami putera dan puteri Indonesia mengaku bertumpah darah yang satu, Tanah Indonesia.*
Kedua:	*Kami putera dan puteri Indonesia mengaku berbangsa yang satu, Bangsa Indonesia.*
Ketiga:	*Kami putera dan puteri Indonesia menjunjung bahasa persatuan, Bahasa Indonesia.*

TRANSLATION:

First:	We the sons and daughters of Indonesia declare that we belong to one fatherland, Indonesia.

Second: We the sons and daughters of Indonesia declare that we are one people, the Indonesian people.
Third: We the sons and daughters of Indonesia uphold the language of unity, the Indonesian language.[27]

The decision to have Malay, with the new name Indonesian, as the language of unity, was carried unanimously by delegates. The *Sumpah Pemuda* was not the very first use of the new name. It had been suggested by Tabrani two years earlier and in 1927 the youth organisation *Jong Java* spoke of the language as Indonesian. Nevertheless, the declaration was of great significance. Although the change in name did not involve any immediate change in the nature of the language itself, it did act as a declaration of its future status. Henceforth, nationalists referred to the language as *bahasa Indonesia* (the Indonesian language) and 28 October 1928 is regarded as the founding day of the Indonesian language. The occasion was later given much significance as a part of the nationalist struggle, far more than participants at the time would have imagined. The third pledge was 'rewritten' by 1938 into such declarations as: *Kita berbahasa satu, yaitu bahasa Indonesia* (We have one language, the Indonesian language), which congress delegates, many of whom had only poor Malay, would hardly have formulated. In the 1980s, *Hari Sumpah Pemuda* (Youth Pledge Day) became an important day for nationalist propaganda, as part of the Suharto regime's Development program.[28] The five-yearly Indonesian National Language Congress commences on 28 October and every year that month is *Bulan Bahasa* (Language Month), during which promotional activities for the use of good language take place.

The new name *bahasa Indonesia* was not immediately taken up by all groups in the community. It was not used in the press until 1933 and conservative school teachers, who regarded modernising tendencies in the language with despair, refused to use it.

The question is often asked, what kind of Malay were the delegates at the Second Indonesian Youth Congress thinking of when they renamed the language. One writer observes: 'At that time they themselves were obviously more concerned with the cause of political unity than with the problem of the variation in their usage of Malay'.[29] Nevertheless, the oath itself is in High Malay, as shown by the use of the formal word *kami* (we), which almost never occurs in the colloquial language, the refined Sanskrit-derived *putra* (sons) and *putri* (daughters), and the formal verbal prefix *men(g)-*. It is obvious that this style was recognised as the only variety suitable for such an important

statement, particularly one that was first written. Its association with education, as School Malay, and in literature, as published by *Balai Pustaka*, had already established High Malay as the appropriate variety for formal situations.

WHY MALAY?

What were the reasons for the choice of Malay as the national language of Indonesia? It was not the language of the majority; in fact, only a small percentage of the people of the Dutch East Indies spoke it as a first language. However, it had significant advantages over the only other two languages that could in any way be considered alternatives, Dutch and Javanese. It is sometimes erroneously stated that Malay was chosen because it was 'simple and easy to learn'. In fact, it was not chosen for any perceived linguistic characteristics, but for social and political reasons.

There would have been certain advantages in choosing Dutch as the national language. It was the language of higher education and as such was spoken by the educated elite, the leaders of the nationalist movement and the future leaders of the nation. It was a language of modern communication, which had for centuries kept abreast of developments in all fields of learning, for which books and other literature were available. Consequently, it needed no development of structure or lexicon. Malay, by comparison, had been much neglected in both Dutch and British colonies. In many fields of learning it had never been used and so had not developed the lexical and syntactic complexity necessary for those domains, let alone for a national language. Although such development was now occurring in Malay, it had a long way to go to become an effective language of modern national communication.

Educated Indonesians, including nationalists, continued to use Dutch as the principal means of communication among themselves, although they used Malay in public situations and in their political writings. While Sukarno addressed crowds in Malay, he was more comfortable in Dutch, like many of the educated elite. Sukarno has stated of Dutch that 'It became the language in which I did my thinking. Even today I automatically curse in Dutch. When I pray to God, I pray in Dutch'.[30]

Despite this, few Indonesians gave serious thought to accepting Dutch as the national language. It was the language of the colonial power against whom the nationalists were struggling for independence. There was thus an important psychological barrier to its acceptance;

national pride was against it. And although it was the usual language of communication among the educated elite, they were a very small minority of the entire population. In many former British colonies, English became the national language, or at least an official language, on independence. Its status as an important world lingua franca was an enormous incentive to its acceptance; it allowed for greater communication than would have been possible with one of the local languages. But, unlike English, Dutch was not an important language of international communication. Its adoption would allow easy communication with the Netherlands, but not with other nations; it would not open the rest of the world to Indonesia.

The other possibility was Javanese. This language had by far the largest number of native speakers of any language in the archipelago. It was spoken by about 40 per cent of the overall population, including a significant proportion of the educated elite and nationalist leadership. If it were chosen, a large number of people would not be in the position of having to learn another language. It also had an unbroken literary tradition stretching back 1000 years and its own script, taught to Javanese as part of their education. (The fact that the Javanese script was not used for other languages was a disadvantage, but a similar problem did not hinder the Thais in accepting their own language, which has a related writing system, derived from the same south Indian Pallava script as the Javanese.)

There were two major factors working against the acceptance of Javanese. First, it was the language of one particular ethnic group. The fact that this was the largest ethnic group was actually a hindrance to its acceptance; it would be seen as giving significant advantages to native speakers, already the most powerful and, many non-Javanese would say, most advantaged ethnic group, in terms of education and other opportunities. This would cause resentment among speakers of other languages and would hence work against national unity rather than for it, just as attempts in India to have Hindi, the language of the largest ethnic group, adopted as the national language led to bitter opposition from speakers of other languages.

The second disadvantage had to do with the nature of the Javanese language itself and its intimate connection with traditional Javanese culture. Javanese society was rigidly hierarchical, with an aristocracy at the top and the mass of peasants at the bottom. A person's behaviour in any social situation, including their choice of language style, was strictly determined by their social relationship to those with whom they

were interacting. Javanese is often said to be the supreme example of a language that expresses social relationship between speaker and addressee, possessing, among other things, an elaborate set of vocabularies for addressing people of higher rank. The two major social levels have their own names. *Ngoko* 'low style' is the familiar style, used among equals where there is solidarity and by superiors to inferiors. *Krama* is the 'high style', used by inferiors to superiors or among equals without solidarity. Vocabulary differences between *Ngoko* and *Krama* are illustrated by the following short example, in which every meaning unit (morpheme) is different:

Ngoko:	*Aku*	*ora*	*ng-erti*	*jeneng-é*
Krama:	*Kula*	*mboten*	*mang-ertos*	*asma-nipun*
	I	negative	know	name-his

I don't know his name. [31]

A language tied to traditional Javanese culture was not at all what the nationalists wanted, aspiring as they did to a modern democracy of equality and modernity. The Javanese among them were just as unprepared for Javanese to be the national language, 'since even for the more traditionally oriented intellectuals the drive for modernity was at that time still partly seen in terms of breaking out of "Javanism" and the hierarchical modes of Javanese social intercourse'.[32]

Malay was the native language of only about 5 per cent of the people of the Dutch East Indies in 1928; that is, the people of those areas of Sumatra, off-shore islands and parts of Kalimantan where traditional Malay was the vernacular. Native speakers of post-creole forms of Malay, especially in the east but also in Jakarta, did not add substantially to this number. The fact that native speakers were such a small percentage of the population meant that, unlike Javanese, Malay was not seen as a threat to the cultures of other ethnic groups; Malay speakers could in no way be regarded as an assertive majority. Most people did not think of it as the language of a particular ethnic group at all; one writer has commented on its 'almost statusless character, like Esperanto … tied to no particular regional social structure'.[33] It was also the principal language of inter-ethnic communication and trade throughout the archipelago and the language of education, at least of lower education, the most that the majority of people could aspire to. It had also become the language of literature, in every variety from the Low Malay of some

newspapers and fiction to the High Malay *Balai Pustaka* novels. The unique position of Malay can be seen also from the fact that in 1918, at the urging of indigenous members, the newly opened *Volksraad*, the People's Council, agreed to Malay being recognised as an official language along with Dutch for the purpose of debate within the council.[34] In short, Malay was seen as the only language that could act as a unifying force between the many ethnic groups in the archipelago.

When the young nationalists recognised Malay as the basis for the future national language, the lack of opposition or even scepticism was extraordinary. The more so because most realised that it was not yet a suitable vehicle for communicating about a great many aspects of modern life, that in fact it was not yet ready to be the unifying language of a multilingual nation in the modern world. The choice of Malay was received as if it were the most natural thing; very few debates about its advantages and disadvantages seem to have occurred. Despite later suggestions that Javanese had been a contender for national language, its drawbacks were so obvious that it is probable that very few people gave it serious consideration. Indonesia, unlike India, was thus spared a great deal of strife over the choice of a national language. The choice of Malay proved to be the best decision for the unity of the future nation.

ALISJAHBANA AND *PUJANGGA BARU*

Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana commented in 1932 that 'the Dutch language has received a terrible blow. In the circles of educated Indonesians its position has been hard pressed by Malay. In meetings, in the press, Dutch is no longer used. The Indonesians who in the past were crazy about the Dutch language have now changed their attitude and dropped it … for ever'.[35] Alisjahbana was a great promoter of the use and development of Indonesian and he was greatly exaggerating the decline of Dutch. Higher education was still in Dutch and many educated Indonesians were writing and speaking in Dutch in many situations (and were still doing so well after independence was achieved).

Alisjahbana became a most significant figure in the development of the language. He believed passionately in the need to develop Indonesian so that it could take its place as a fully adequate national language, able to replace Dutch as a means of entry into modern international culture. In 1933, he began the magazine *Pujangga Baru* (New Writer — *Poedjangga Baroe* in the original spelling) with co-editors Amir Hamzah and Armijn Pane.[36] The magazine contained articles in modern Indonesian on literary and cultural issues, and enabled young

writers to express their ideas and feelings on matters of language and culture. Through *Pujangga Baru*, Alisjahbana and his colleagues consciously strove to modernise the language. In the magazine and in their novels, such as Alisjahbana's *Layar Terkembang* (Sails Unfurled) and Armijn Pane's *Belenggu* (Shackles), they extended the boundaries of the new language, dealing with new areas of discourse and expressing their feelings in a way that had not been done before. The 'creative and critical writing it published set new standards for the language and revealed its flexibility and efficiency'.[37]

The literature of *Pujangga Baru* was more nationalistic than that of *Balai Pustaka* and this was reflected in the more modern language. Its nationalistic and progressive tone was more satisfying to many writers than the more classical style demanded by *Balai Pustaka*, which eschewed nationalism and adventurous language. *Pujangga Baru* thus contributed to acceptance of Indonesian among intellectuals, establishing the language as the vehicle for future literature.

The language of *Pujangga Baru* came in for criticism from those associated with the more classical School Malay and it was accused of publishing Dutch written with an Indonesian vocabulary. Alisjahbana would no doubt have taken the criticism as a demonstration of his success. To him the language of *Pujangga Baru* pointed the way to the future, to an elaborated, Westernised language able to express all the concepts of the modern world.

Those who emphasised continuity with Classical Malay saw the changes taking place as destroying the logical clarity of Malay. Among these were the Minangkabau school teachers, who expressed to their students their contempt for the modernising tendencies of both *Pujangga Baru* and newspapers. As an example, among the many innovations they condemned was use of the word *bisa* instead of *dapat* for 'can'. In Malay *bisa* meant only 'poison from an animal's bite' and the increasing use of Javanese *bisa* in the new meaning they regarded as one of the many threats to the language's purity.

Alisjahbana aspired to create a modern Indonesian culture and the language that would be its expression. Unlike more traditional intellectuals, he did not look to Classical Malay and the past. For him, Indonesian was a new concept; a new beginning was needed and he looked to Western civilisation, with its dynamic society of individuals freed from traditional fetters, as his inspiration. He believed that there is a relationship between thinking and the rules of grammar and that 'a culture oriented to science, economics and technology, with its own logic,

concepts and reality, unavoidably has its consequences in the rules of grammar'.[38] He recognised Indonesian as a continuation of Malay, but believed it should be freed from its traditional syntactic forms to allow it to better express complex intellectual concepts. Alisjahbana was particularly critical of school teachers' adherence to classical norms, writing in 1933 that 'The language which reflects the life of the people … in schools becomes something frozen, dead, motionless. The teaching of grammar as used by our ancestors … kills all interest in language'.[39]

After Alisjahbana the most important figure identified with *Pujangga Baru* was Armijn Pane. He also saw Indonesian as not just a new name but as a new language. He said that the grammar of older Malay would be of no value to writers in the new Indonesia 'because it is not adequate for the language demanded by their souls' and that traditional literary forms would be replaced by new and modern ways of expression.[40] His novel *Belenggu*, published by *Pujangga Baru* after being rejected by *Balai Pustaka*, was the most discussed novel of the pre-war period, its non-moralising consideration of social relations being a powerful influence on young writers.

THE FIRST INDONESIAN NATIONAL LANGUAGE CONGRESS

It was Alisjahbana who put forward the idea of holding a national language congress. In 1936, a Javanese language congress was held in Yogyakarta, at which it was decided that there would be no mention of politics, only purely language matters being discussed. Alisjahbana was contemptuous of the aims of the congress and declared that the time for holding a congress of the national language had arrived. He and the *Pujangga Baru* group took the initiative and organised the First Indonesian National Language Congress, held in Surakarta, Central Java in June 1938, ten years after the Second Indonesian Youth Congress and the *Sumpah Pemuda*.[41]

The First Indonesian National Language Congress demonstrated that some people already recognised the need for a policy on national language development and it was thus an important preliminary step in the nationalists' language-planning program. Papers were read on the future of the language, its grammar and spelling. Amir Sjarifoeddin, a future prime minister, read a paper on borrowing from foreign languages and the congress approved the continued use of the van Ophuijsen spelling. Alisjahbana criticised grammar textbooks used in government schools, stating that they were out of date and did not

stimulate interest in learning the language. The congress agreed with him that textbooks did not reflect the development and use of the language and resolved that a new grammar should be written, which reflected the new conditions of the language. Delegates approved a resolution calling on journalists to co-operate in developing and refining the language and urged the establishment of a faculty of arts. They also called for Indonesian to become the official language and language of government business.[42]

Despite the good intentions, there was no official organisation behind the congress, so that resolutions could not be implemented. It did, nevertheless, have an impact by creating awareness for the need to foster development of the language. For instance, it prompted Indonesian members of the *Volksraad* to declare that they would always use Indonesian (although in practice this was not always adhered to, as many of them were more fluent in Dutch).[43]

DUTCH REACTION AND THE POSITION OF INDONESIAN IN 1941

The debates among the Dutch about the type of Malay to be used in schools never reached resolution. In 1929, doubts were raised at high level about the appropriateness of Riau Malay in the school system, with the recognition that outside schools and their textbooks the language had moved on significantly. The debates continued through the 1930s, both as to the type of Malay that should be officially recognised and its position in relation to Dutch.[44]

In the late 1920s and the 1930s, the attitude of the Dutch towards the Indonesian language was largely negative, as it was towards the nationalist movement in general. While there were some who saw Malay as an important unifying factor within the colonies, there were many who held the new language in contempt and openly derided it as unfit to become a modern language of culture. Prominent among these was the education specialist GJ Nieuwenhuis, 'who set himself up as the great propagator of Dutch in the Indies' and who stated that 'The task of the Dutch language in the Indies is to help create a future for the Indonesians'.[45] He wrote in 1930:

> Everything we are doing to make Malay the lingua franca works against our efforts to spread our language, to introduce international culture, to implement a unification on a higher level, and also against the perpetuation of our interests. In other words, it could only be disadvantageous for the Indies as well as for the Netherlands.

Nieuwenhuis argued for a comprehensive Dutch language education for the lower ranks of the civil service, seeing the perpetuation of Dutch interests in the Indies and continued economic expansion as being best ensured by the spread of Dutch language and culture. Others supported the strengthening of Dutch for more enlightened reasons, believing that it was the best way to advance the Indonesians, culturally and economically. According to the 1930 census, 230 000 Indonesians knew Dutch, increasing to about 400 000 in 1941, although it is not the case that they all spoke fluent Dutch, the figures referring mainly to reading ability.

There were still among the Dutch those who were unhappy about the increasing numbers of Indonesians acquiring the language — even though the 1941 figure represented less than 1 per cent of the indigenous population — believing that it would harm Dutch interests by leading to political and social instability. However, those in favour had greater power and their efforts to strengthen the position of Dutch included weakening the position of Indonesian. The use of Indonesian by the nationalists had become a way of expressing their nationalistic beliefs and this added to Dutch suspicion of the language. By 1932, Indonesian was no longer a required subject for the Dutch-Native schools anywhere in the Indies. The strengthening of the position of Dutch was supported by the Dutch-Indies Teachers' Association, whose members believed the elimination of Indonesian from the system would improve opportunities for learning Dutch, which they saw as the road to job opportunities and social advancement.

Despite opposition from some Dutch and even from some Indonesians, the Indonesian language had made remarkable progress by the time of the Japanese invasion. A Dutch linguist, C Hooykaas, wrote in 1939 that 'the few decades of the twentieth century have shown a development so rapid, expansive and even with such depth, that it can be compared with nothing in the previous centuries'.[46]

By the early 1940s, the language had expanded in its capabilities to such an extent that intellectuals were becoming increasingly confident in using it in academic fields. Mohammad Hatta, who was to become the first vice-president of Indonesia, stated shortly before the Japanese invasion that as an economist he could write anything on economics in the language,[47] a comment that he would not have dreamt of uttering in 1928. Hatta, nevertheless, like other conservatives, was critical of the emerging undisciplined use of Indonesian by many writers, who had had no education in the language and who showed excessive zeal in their adoption of Dutch vocabulary and grammatical structures.

THE JAPANESE PERIOD

Rarely has an entrenched position come to such an abrupt ending as when Dutch rule in the East Indies ceased with the Japanese invasion in March 1942. Immediately the Japanese banned the use of Dutch, until then the official language of the Dutch East Indies, from all public use. This was the single most significant influence on the status of Indonesian in its history. Overnight, Indonesian was thrust into a prominence that few had imagined would come so soon or so dramatically.

It was the intention of the Japanese to spread their culture as quickly as possible throughout the archipelago. The Dutch education system was abolished and moves swiftly made to introduce a new education system for the dissemination of Japanese language and culture.[48] Because the Japanese language was almost entirely unknown in Indonesia, the Japanese could not at first introduce it as the medium of instruction in schools. They therefore had to use Indonesian, which they always referred to as Malay, as the language for all education, from primary school to university level. So assiduous were the Japanese in obliterating traces of Dutch from public life that Malay-language teaching materials had to be 'purified', with pupils required to black out Dutch words from their textbooks.

The long-term consequence, unforeseen by the Japanese, was an enormous strengthening of the position of Indonesian in society. Virtually overnight, Indonesian replaced Dutch as the language of administration. Even the Japanese were forced to make use of it for practical reasons, their own language being so unfamiliar. Indonesian thus became the de facto official language, for law and government communication with the people. The Japanese always intended that their own language would soon be introduced into all spheres of life, including education, although they were compelled temporarily to make use of Indonesian. However, they were always aware of its links with national feelings; it was for this reason that they insisted on using the term 'Malay' rather than 'Indonesian'.

Many people who knew barely any Indonesian now found themselves required to use it in their work, in schools and government business. While members of the educated elite continued to use Dutch in private, they now had to develop greater proficiency in Indonesian for public communication. Indonesian was suddenly required in a great many situations in which it had hitherto not been used and for which it was not ready: to express all the concepts of every relevant branch of learning, a role hitherto taken by Dutch.

It was obvious that Indonesian did not contain words or expressions for a great many concepts. This was forcefully brought home at the beginning of the Japanese period with the requirement to produce Indonesian language materials for education. This largely consisted of translating the Dutch texts used until then. In 1942, some nationalists suggested the setting up of a body that would develop the language so that it could function adequately in this new role, including the selection of technical vocabulary. The Japanese agreed to the establishment of the *Komisi Bahasa* (Language Commission), seeing it as in their interests to expand the capacities of the language. The Commission was set up in October 1942, formally headed by three Japanese but with a number of prominent Indonesian intellectuals playing the major part in its activities. Soewandi, later to be Minister of Education and Culture, was appointed secretary, Alisjahbana was appointed an 'expert secretary' and other members included the future president and vice-president, Sukarno and Hatta. Thus began the first formal Indonesian language-planning activities. The most important section of the *Komisi Bahasa* dealt with the creation of terminology. This was split into smaller subsections, each dealing with terms in a particular field. Under Alisjahbana, the work of the *Komisi Bahasa* staff also included making preparations for a dictionary.

The prohibition on use of Dutch led to an expansion of Indonesian-language newspapers and pressure on them to increase the language's wordstock. Journalists, beginning a practice that has continued to the present, did not wait for the *Komisi Bahasa* to provide new words, but actively participated themselves in coining terms. Many of the *Komisi Bahasa*'s terms never found public acceptance and after the Japanese period were replaced by the original Dutch forms, including *jantera* (Sanskrit for 'wheel'), which temporarily replaced *mesin* (machine), *ketua negara* (literally 'chairman of state'), which had replaced *presiden* (president) and *kilang* (meaning 'mill'), which had replaced *pabrik* (factory). In a few cases, however, coinings permanently replaced earlier Dutch terms, including *pajak* (earlier meaning 'monopoly') instead of *belasting* (tax) and *senam* (meaning 'exercise') instead of *gimnastik* (gymnastics). The *Komisi Bahasa* is said to have coined more than 7000 terms, although few of these gained common acceptance. The Japanese did little or nothing to assist the work of the *Komisi Bahasa*; its recommendations were poorly promoted and came to the notice of few people. A grammar was intended but did not appear, although a two-volume dictionary was produced.

In their determination to mobilise the entire population to their war effort, the Japanese helped spread Indonesian wherever they went in the archipelago, although their insistence on propagating the language actually worked against them. Indonesian came to be regarded as a symbol of national unity and consequently of resistance to the Japanese desire to spread their own language and culture.

With military defeat becoming obvious to the Japanese, they agreed in March 1945 to the establishment of a committee to plan Indonesian independence. It was during a meeting of this committee that Sukarno first put forward his concept for the *Pancasila*, the Five Principles of the Indonesian State, although the ultimate form of *Pancasila* was rather different from that formulated by him on this occasion. The committee also produced the document on which the Indonesian constitution was based. The constitution stipulates: *Bahasa negara ialah bahasa Indonesia* (the State language is Indonesian).[49] By this time, it was inevitable that Indonesian would be the national language of the new nation. Nevertheless, the pronouncement of its status in the constitution was an important milestone in the development of the language and highlighted the importance of having a single national language of unity in the new multilingual nation.

7

LANGUAGE PLANNING

THE EARLY DAYS OF PLANNING

On 17 August 1945, Sukarno read the proclamation of Indonesian independence. Significantly, it was in Indonesian, as have been all official Indonesian documents since. The language is surprisingly modern, demonstrating how much it had developed in the preceding two decades:

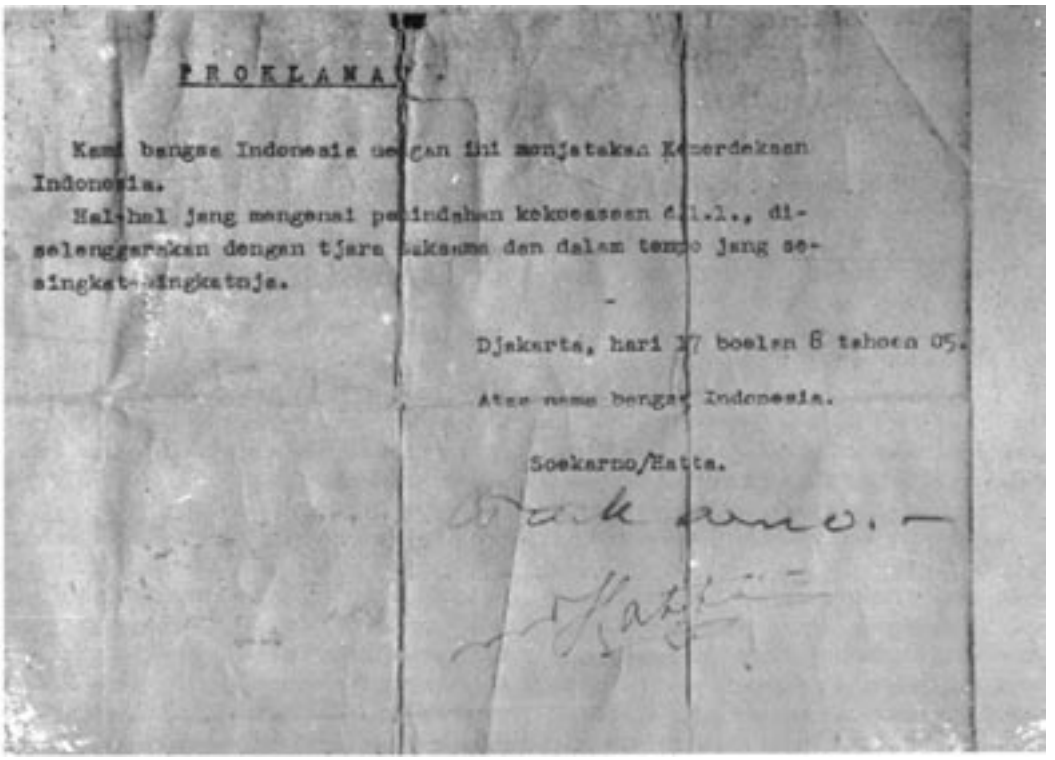
> *Kami bangsa Indonesia dengan ini menyatakan kemerdekaan Indonesia. Hal-hal yang mengenai pemindahan kekuasaan dan lain-lain, diselenggarakan dengan cara saksama dan dalam tempo yang sesingkat-singkatnya.*

TRANSLATION:

> We the Indonesian people herewith declare Indonesia's Independence. Matters relating to the transfer of authority will be carried out in an orderly manner and in the shortest possible time.

The unanimous acceptance of Indonesian as the sole national language in such a multilingual nation was a remarkable thing. Yet it is easy to overlook just how remarkable it really was, with so little attention being drawn to the fact because of the complete absence of conflict, or even debate on the matter.

Indonesian independence was not recognised by the Dutch and the new republic had to contend with Dutch military action until 1949. During the revolutionary period, Indonesian played an essential unifying role, which contributed greatly to widespread commitment to it as


PROKLAMASI.

Kami bangsa Indonesia dengan ini menjatakan Kemerdekaan Indonesia.

Hal-hal jang mengenai pemindahan kekoeasaan d.l.l., diselenggarakan dengan tjara seksama dan dalam tempo jang sesingkat-singkatnja.

Djakarta, hari 17 boelan 8 tahoen 05.

Atas nama bangsa Indonesia.

Soekarno/Hatta.

Soekarno.—

Hatta.—

Figure 7.1
The Proclamation of Independence — the first official document in the Indonesian language. The document was hastily typed on 17 August 1945 after President Sukarno had read from a handwritten draft. It is signed by Sukarno and Vice-President Hatta. (State Secretariat, Republic of Indonesia)

the national language and helped build a solid foundation for national unity.[1] The Dutch, on the assumption that they would be able to regain their former colony and accepting the popularity of Indonesian, announced in November 1945 that it was to be the second official language after Dutch.

Following the declaration of independence, planning continued on from what had been carried out during the Japanese occupation. In June 1947, when the Republican government was located in Yogyakarta, the Ministry of Education and Culture set up a new board to continue the work of the *Komisi Bahasa* of the Japanese period.[2] While it produced a dictionary for teaching Indonesian in schools, the board's work was frustrated by Dutch military action and it was short-lived.

Despite the overall lack of progress in language planning in this period, there was one important achievement. In 1947, a revision to the van Ophuijsen spelling was introduced under Soewandi, the Minister of Education and Culture. This became commonly known as the Soewandi spelling, but formally as *Ejaan Republik* (Republic Spelling). There were two major changes in the new system. One was the replacing of the digraph 'oe' with 'u' for the high back vowel /u/. Thus *boekoe* (book) became *buku*. This change was resisted by most people in the spelling of their own name; someone named Soeparno, for instance, was likely to retain the 'oe', rather than spell his name Suparno. Many people continue this practice to the present. Consequently, there can be uncertainty about how a particular person's name should be spelt and there is ongoing inconsistency in the press. Thus present-day newspapers might refer either to Sukarno and Suharto or to Soekarno and Soeharto, or to one with 'oe' and the other with 'u'.

The other major change was the removal of any indication of the difference between the mid-central vowel /ə/ (called 'schwa' by linguists — the sound represented by the letter 'e' in English 'enough') and the mid-front vowel /e/ (the vowel in English 'pet'), both now to be spelt 'e'. Thus the word *pepet* (schwa) contains /ə/ in each syllable and *bebek* (duck) contains /e/ in each syllable, although the difference is not shown in the orthography. This change removed the impractical use of a diacritic over the symbol for the mid-front vowel: 'é'.

The previous practice of inserting the schwa vowel between consonants in borrowings was made optional. Thus *peraktek* (practice — Dutch *praktijk*) could now be spelt *peraktek* or *praktek*. Even some inherited words were allowed variation, such as *perahu* or *prahu* (boat). This led to some uncertainty as to how certain words should be written. For instance, Poerwadarminta's *Kamus Umum* (General Dictionary) in the first edition of 1953 included *pab(e)rik* (factory), while in the second edition of 1961 the word was spelt *paberik*, the spelling *pabrik* being included but referring to the former. In the 1976 edition, this was reversed, with *paberik* referring the reader to *pabrik*.

The new spelling came at a time of military action by the Dutch, who seized the republican capital of Yogyakarta. Republican leaders, who had taken to the hills, could hardly be concerned with matters of language development. Nevertheless, even in remote places in republican-controlled territory there were schools where the language was being taught. Some language promoters stayed in Jakarta, under Dutch control, and continued the work of creating terminologies by

translating Dutch scientific terms into Indonesian. One of these was Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, who also continued publication of the magazine *Pujangga Baru* and launched a new journal devoted to discussion of language problems generally, named *Pembina Bahasa Indonesia* (Builder of Indonesian). In 1949, Alisjahbana produced his grammar, *Tatabahasa Baru Bahasa Indonesia* (New Indonesian Grammar). While there were other grammars, this became the most widely used in schools, remaining as such until the late 1980s.

After Indonesia's independence was recognised by the Dutch, a *Komisi Istilah* (Terminology Commission) was established in Jakarta. In 1952, this was combined with a body that had been set up by the Dutch, as the *Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya* (Institute for Language and Culture). This was originally part of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Indonesia, but was later taken over by the Ministry (later Department) of Education and Culture. Until the present, the successive official language-planning bodies have been attached to the department.

Following independence, almost all education was in Indonesian, except in some private schools, where it continued in Dutch until 1952. In some areas, the language of instruction was the local language during the first three years of education, and this practice continues to the present. This only occurs in the areas of a few large languages, such as Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese. In Jakarta and other places where no single regional language predominates and in areas where smaller regional languages are spoken, only Indonesian is used.

The *Komisi Istilah* was very active after 1950, until it ceased activities in 1966. The creation of a body of technical, scientific and professional terms was seen as central to the goal of developing Indonesian to be a modern national language. Like national languages in most other developing countries, Indonesian was not well equipped to express new ideas and concepts relating to professional and scientific activities. Alisjahbana and others were aware of the need to make Indonesian 'intertranslatable' with other modern languages, able to meet communication needs in the modern world. This entailed extending not only the lexicon but also the range of discourse forms and registers available to educated users of the language, as well as conventions of paragraph organisation and rules pertaining to expository, descriptive and narrative discourse.[3]

In the early days of terminology creation, many coinings were literal translations from Dutch, such as *buku harian* (diary) from Dutch

dagboek, *rumah sakit* (hospital) from Dutch *ziekenhuis* and *nama keluarga* (surname) from Dutch *familie naam*. Many Dutch words were adopted without translation, although usually a change in pronunciation and spelling was required, such as *bursa* (stock exchange) from *beurs* and *oplah* (circulation — of a publication) from *oplaag*. In some cases, Dutch compounds were employed, although word order usually had to be reversed, as in *kantor pos* (post office) from *post kantoor*, *buku kas* (cashbook) from *kasboek* and *insinyur sipil* (civil engineer) from *civiel ingenieur*. (See also the discussion on borrowing from Dutch in Chapter 8.)

Not all new terms were taken from Dutch. One other source for technical terms was Arabic, which provided *hukum* (law), *kaidah* (rule), *sifat* (attribute, quality) and numerous other words.

It has been claimed that, by 1952, the 16 sections of the *Komisi Istilah*, each responsible for a particular branch of learning, had produced more than 74 000 technical and professional terms and that, by 1966, new terms totalled 327 000.[4] By 1959, 75 000 new terms, most of which were from Dutch, had been published in official lists. However, although a great many new terms were coined and published, few of these actually entered the language or appeared in general dictionaries. This highlights one of the major problems of the language-planning process in Indonesia: an enormous gap between the terminology producers and their potential customers. Until well into the 1970s, the *Komisi Istilah* and its successors were poorly funded and resourced and lacked the means of effectively communicating their work to the public. Specialists in various fields rarely took up technical terms created for their field by the relevant section of the commission, preferring to use Dutch or English terms instead and avoiding Indonesianised versions of Dutch where these had been coined. In most cases, specialists simply did not even hear of the existence of the officially coined terms.

The *Komisi Istilah*'s method of publicising its new terms was to place them in supplements to the monthly magazine *Medan Bahasa* (Language Field) until 1952 and after that as supplements to the periodical *Bahasa dan Budaya* (Language and Culture). But these publications had limited circulation and were simply unknown to most people outside the circle of those interested in language and cultural matters. Moreover, lists tended to be disorganised and sometimes not in alphabetical order, frequently making it a laborious task to search for particular items.[5] In the 1950s, wordlists of the different terminology panels

were published separately, as the *kamus kedokteran* (medical dictionary), *kamus hukum* (legal dictionary) and so on, but these also suffered from poor distribution.

It was in schools that the language-planning bodies, being part of the Department of Education and Culture, were able to have more influence, being able to directly present their decisions, and so have an impact on the moulding of the standard language. This was helped by a leap in literacy between 1945 and 1966. A mass literacy drive, launched by Sukarno, resulted in an increase in adult (over 15 years) literacy from 15–20 per cent in 1950 to 65 per cent in 1964.[6] Nevertheless, their influence in the school system was hindered by the fact that many teachers were poorly educated and lacked proficiency in formal Indonesian.

COMPONENTS OF PLANNING

From the beginning, the goal of planning was always to develop a standard form of Indonesian to be an effective national language and the sole official language. It would need to be an effective means of communicating modern concepts, as well as being the vehicle of education, a unifying force throughout the nation and a symbol of both national pride and national identity.

An official language is a language of government business, while a national language is a symbol of national unity and identification. The two are not necessarily the same thing, although a national language is always an official language. Thus in Singapore Malay is the national language, but there are four official languages: Malay, English, Mandarin and Tamil. One of the notable successes in Indonesia has been the ease with which Indonesian was established in both roles, despite the multilingual nature of the country. In India, by comparison, attempts to make Hindi the sole national language were not successful and fourteen regional languages have official status in addition to Hindi and English.

To make Indonesian effective in both roles a considerable amount of planning was necessary in all four components of language planning: selection, acceptance, elaboration and codification.

Selection refers to the choosing of a particular language or variety of a language to be developed. In Indonesia, Malay was selected as the future national language, by acclamation at the Second Indonesian Youth Congress in 1928, and earlier by the process of its increasing importance, including its recognition as a second language in the *Volksraad* in 1918.

Acceptance refers to recognition by the population of the variety selected as an official language and symbol of national unity. The attitude of the people is crucial because, if they feel no loyalty to the selected variety, attempts to make it the national language will fail. Very little effort was needed to encourage the Indonesian population to accept Malay as the basis of the national language. Before independence, as already mentioned, there was no opposition to its choice and since independence Indonesians have had pride in their national language as a symbol both of the nation and its unity. Nevertheless, despite their pride in the national language and the prestige gained from mastery of the standard variety, there is ambivalence towards it, with almost universal resistance to using the standard or formal language in everyday situations (for reasons discussed on p. 141).

Elaboration refers to the development of the chosen variety so that it can be used in new domains. This includes vocabulary expansion so that it can be used for communicating about all areas of knowledge. This is essential for any language intended to be used for purposes of government, education, law and so on. Elaboration also refers to the development of more complex sentence structure and discourse forms to enhance powers of expression. In Indonesia, elaboration has been a major part of language planning, having commenced formally with the *Komisi Bahasa* in 1942. Malay literature of previous times used restricted vocabulary and was used for limited purposes. The modern language needed to be developed for use in such diverse domains as business letters, scientific articles, advertisements, recipes and many other new kinds of discourse. This required the development of discourse forms and paragraph organisation based on Western conventions.[7]

Codification refers to standardising the selected variety, determining in effect which forms will be regarded as 'correct and proper' usage. Codification entails the production of an officially approved grammar and dictionary, which then become regarded as the authority on correct usage. This standard form then is the medium of instruction in education and carries prestige, marking those who can use it as well educated. Codification also covers orthography; that is, a standard or official writing and spelling system. In the case of Indonesian, codification is still far from complete. The formal language is nowhere near as uniform as the standard varieties of the major national languages of Europe, for which more than 150 years of popular education has been a decisive factor. Nevertheless, given the historical background and the limited time available, the progress of codification and elaboration has in some ways

been remarkable. Certainly, compared with informal varieties, which vary considerably between different groups and places, the formal language has become standardised to a significant extent, partly as a result of codification resulting from language planning and instruction in schools. Thus educated speakers from different regions will display far less variation in their formal language than in their informal speech, although there is evidence that colloquial varieties are converging under influence of the Jakartan style, as discussed in Chapter 8. There has been little emphasis on pronunciation in Indonesian language planning, with people's pronunciation tending to be influenced by their regional language. However, television newsreaders, who are usually claimed not to have any discernible accent, are frequently held up as good models.

Codification and elaboration have not entirely been a result of the official planning processes. Informal processes, including policies in the mass media, have also played a significant part in development of the language, as discussed in Chapter 8.

DIGLOSSIA AND THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN INDONESIA

Language planning in Indonesia has always been concerned solely with the formal language, as used in government business, law, the press and education. There has been no interest among language planners in influencing the various colloquial varieties of the language.

The Indonesian language exists in a diglossic state, with significantly different 'high' and 'low' variants of the language. Charles Ferguson, who first described the concept of diglossia in 1959, defines it as 'a relatively stable language situation in which … there is a very divergent, highly codified superposed variety … which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation'.[8] He labelled this the high variety (abbreviated to H); the variety used in everyday situations he called the low variety (abbreviated to L). Formal Indonesian — the H variety in Indonesia — is the language of government and administration and of formal situations (such as speeches, lectures and writing). It is the language of the mass media (television and radio, newspapers and magazines) and of most novels. It is the medium of education at all levels and is expected to be mastered by educated Indonesians. Formal Indonesian is learnt at school, most children having little or no contact with it until they begin their education; proficiency in it is thus a mark of a person's level of education. The low variety,

informal or colloquial Indonesian, is the language of everyday communication between Indonesians in all but formal situations. For an ever-growing percentage of the population it is the language of the home, their natural 'mother tongue', and thus accords with Ferguson's definition of L in a diglossic society. For many Indonesians, particularly in rural areas, the language of the home is one of the many regional languages of Indonesia rather than, or as well as, informal Indonesian. For such people, the linguistic situation is more complex, with informal Indonesian used for communication with people from other ethnic groups, sometimes alongside other, more local, lingua francas.

Formal Indonesian has been the subject of considerable study and there have been numerous published descriptions of aspects of the grammar. The language-planning authorities produce dictionaries and grammars, sponsor research into the formal language, advise schools and conduct campaigns in the press and on television for the use of good language.

On the other hand, no study of the informal language has been undertaken by Indonesians and the planning authorities have shown no interest in the cultivation of this variety. The official grammar of Indonesian, first published in 1988, includes no description of informal varieties of the language. This accords with Ferguson's observation that in a diglossic situation there is a strong tradition of grammatical study of the H form of the language while 'descriptive and normative studies of the L form are either non-existent or relatively recent and slight in quantity'.[9] There has also been very little research on colloquial language from non-Indonesian linguists, although this began to change in the late 1990s, with the appearance of a number of brief studies of the Jakartan variety.[10]

The relationship between formal and informal varieties of Indonesian does differ from that of the classic diglossic situation in one noticeable respect. In the original conception of diglossia, the distinction between H and L is so clear-cut that the community assigns different names to them (such as Katharevousa and Demotiki Greek, and Schwyzertütsch and Standard German in Switzerland). Indonesians certainly recognise the differences between H and L forms; one writer has remarked that they differ 'to such an extent that an attempt to account for both by a single unified approach would be extremely complex, if not impossible'.[11] However, H and L varieties of Indonesian are not given distinct names. The H code is referred to by such terms as *bahasa resmi* (official language), *bahasa formal* (formal language), *bahasa baku*

(standard language) and *bahasa halus* (refined language), while the L variety is variously referred to as *bahasa sehari-hari* (daily language), *bahasa non-baku* (non-standard language), *bahasa percakapan* (conversational language), *percakapan santai* (relaxed conversation) and so on. These are impressionistic labels only, used unsystematically as people attempt to distinguish the types when the need arises. There are no official names to differentiate them.

One reason for this failure to distinguish H and L Indonesian by different names is that there is no clear dividing line between them. While the H and L varieties are associated with the most formal and informal social situations, there are intermediate forms, associated with semi-formal situations.

Formal Indonesian is confined to writing and official, impersonal situations, in which the L variety rarely occurs. To the extent that it does occur in formal situations it is used for a particular effect; this may be humorous, perhaps to indicate that the user is being flippant or not serious, as in a witty aside during a television interview. While serious television and radio programs, such as news, interviews on serious topics and announcements, are in formal language, the informal variety may be used in comedies and dramas, although frequently 'soapies' will have the characters talking in a formal style that in real life would sound unnaturally stilted. Almost all writing is in the formal language. Even in most novels, characters speak formal Indonesian, much as characters in English-language novels tend to use more formal language than people do in real life (in both cases, most readers are not aware of anything unusual, as they certainly would be if hearing such formal language spoken in real life). In recent years, novels for young people have been more realistic in the way they represent everyday speech and youth magazines also now tend to have sections that use more colloquial language. Television variety and entertainment programs from the late 1980s have also been prepared to use a lot more colloquial language.

Newspapers and magazines are more inclined to quote people using colloquial language now, rather than rendering it into more formal style as would previously have occurred. However, colloquial words and phrases are usually italicised. This signals that they are inappropriate in the context of formal writing and dissociates the publication from them. In some cases, such quotes may also be 'translated' into formal language:

> *Kami sudah pasrah.* Nggak *tahu mau apa lagi … sekarang memang semua ditanggung Sumber Waras. Tapi,* abis gitu gimana *(setelah itu bagaimana) …?*

TRANSLATION:

> We are resigned to what happens. We don't know what else to do … now everything is in the hands of Sumber Waras [a hospital]. But, what will happen after that …?[12]

In the above passage, in which the mother of an injured student is quoted, the colloquial words she uses are written in italics in the original. The words *abis gitu gimana* (what about after that) are then repeated in formal language in parentheses, although it is doubtful that any readers would not know what the words mean. More commonly, it is assumed that readers will understand, as with the word *nggak* in the above passage, the colloquial word for 'not', which is italicised but not provided with a formal 'translation'.

Because formal Indonesian is acquired as part of the education process, better educated people are likely to be much more proficient in it than those who are uneducated or poorly educated. Hence proficiency in formal language is a reflection of one's level of education. As is typical of diglossic situations, the formal H variety is the prestige form of the language; one gains status by one's ability to use it properly.

Lack of description of colloquial Indonesian results from its low status in the eyes of the language planners. Suggestions to them that informal language should be studied usually meet with disdain. Any willingness to give colloquial language the dignity of being studied and described would appear to contradict their purpose of promoting the formal language. Calls to use *bahasa yang baik dan benar* (good and correct language) mainly refer to improving formal spoken and written language; for many planners, there is a suggestion that formal ('correct') language is the only appropriate variety for any social situation.

The fact that formal Indonesian is taught and studied while informal varieties are not has resulted in a widespread mistaken assumption that 'Indonesian' refers solely to the formal language, and that consequently the language has no native speakers. In the words of one Indonesian linguist: 'The national language is considered a formal language, to be used in schools or at official functions where a range of ethnic groups is likely to be represented'.[13] An Indonesian sociologist has written:

> Bahasa Indonesia is a product of language planning, engineering, and Development programs *par excellence*. It does not evolve from communal activities in the ordinary lives of its speakers. It has not

> been a mother tongue to anyone. Speakers of Bahasa Indonesia learn it from authorized institutions and professionals as a language that their mothers do not speak.[14]

Despite such claims, an ever-increasing proportion of the Indonesian people are native speakers of Indonesian, using it as the first language of the home. The fact that the variety they use in the home is colloquial and not formal Indonesian is, however, no reason not to recognise it as Indonesian.

The development of diglossia in Indonesian was largely a 20th-century phenomenon. Literary Malay long ago diverged from spoken forms of the language, but was used in a very limited range of situations and by very few people. Nevertheless, called High Malay or Riau Malay, it was chosen as the basis for the language of education in the 19th century. With the growth in education in the 20th century, written and formal spoken language, under influence of European languages, developed more elaborate sentence construction, a wider range of registers and a much larger vocabulary. Compared with literary Malay of the 19th century, formal Indonesian by the middle of the 20th century was strikingly developed, rich and varied. Nevertheless, it retained its predecessor's considerable differences from vernacular forms of the language, resulting in diglossia. Had a form of Low Malay been chosen for education, as had been argued by some Dutch officials, the situation today would be significantly different.

CONSERVATIVES VS PROGRESSIVES

Language planners in Indonesia after independence were never a homogeneous group of like-minded scholars. There were conservatives and progressives and disagreements among them were often fierce and personal.[15] Progressives consciously rebelled against the insistence on use of older Malay-oriented rules by people whom they saw as rigid traditionalists and opposing forces often conducted heated debates in the pages of the journals devoted to language matters.

Many school teachers and textbook writers consciously tried to cultivate the language along the path of linguistic traditionalism and rejected Dutch-influenced models. They were aligned to the philosophy of *Balai Pustaka* and the school teachers of pre-war years in believing that good usage should be based on Malay-oriented grammar. They held that Indonesian writers should not slavishly follow Dutch models or simply borrow from Dutch when new words or expressions were

needed. They tended to oppose loan translations based on Dutch structure, such as *tidak begitu sukar* (not so difficult — Dutch *niet zo moelijk*), *berjalan kaki* (go by foot — Dutch *te voet gaan*) and *pada umumnya* (in general — Dutch *over het algemeen*). They argued for the retention of perfectly good Malay structures, such as *selekas-lekasnya* (as fast as possible) and others of the same pattern, instead of synonymous forms, such as *selekas mungkin*, based on the Dutch model — in this case, using *mungkin* (possible) to form 'as fast as possible', a loan translation of Dutch *zo snel mogelijk*).

Among many other criticisms was the condemnation of excessive reduplication of nouns to indicate plurality, clearly due to Dutch influence, reduplication in Malay having been more to indicate variety than plurality. Conservatives claimed that such innovations were contrary to the spirit of the Malay language and were a danger to Indonesian culture (just as they tended to see Western influences on other aspects of Indonesian society and culture as bad). The fact that many such forms are now very widely accepted attests to the failure of the conservatives to halt the influence of Dutch on the development of the language.

While conservatives were fastidious and rigid, they were also concerned with achieving simplicity and clarity in the use of the language, which was far from always being the case with the progressives. Those trained in Dutch wanted to liberalise Indonesian grammar to be efficient and creative, but they frequently failed to achieve this. A generation whose schooling had been interrupted by war and revolution lacked a sound education and many were not proficient in writing and public speaking, either in Dutch or Indonesian. They have been criticised for producing vague and carelessly constructed sentences lacking clarity, their writings frequently containing confused and misleading constructions and word usage. As one writer has put it, though with some exaggeration: 'Linguistic conservatism now was limited to the four walls of classrooms while outside people used Indonesian in the light of their linguistic whims, paying very little attention to rules, idioms and good usage'.[16] In 1956, Nur Sutan Iskandar expressed disappointment with the rapid development of the language: 'There are many peculiarities in the use of words and sentence constructions which only Western-educated intellectuals can grasp the meaning of. As for the public at large they do not understand the language written in this new style'.[17]

Commencing early in the 1950s, *Radio Republik Indonesia* carried a language program that walked a middle path between the two sides in

the argument, giving guidance on correct usage and denouncing both excessive borrowing from Dutch and also rigid traditionalism.

The Second Indonesian National Language Congress was held in Medan in October 1954, under the patronage of Muhammad Yamin, who was then Minister of Education and Culture. At the congress, hostilities between conservatives and liberals were open, with constant heated verbal exchanges. Conservatives denounced journalists and many modern writers for undermining the teaching of Indonesian in schools and for violating rules of grammar and 'the spirit of the language'.

The congress finally adopted a compromise resolution that attempted to placate the conservatives by recognising Malay as the basis of the language but, at the urging of progressives like writer Achdiat Kartamihardja, another clause was added recognising the need for progress: 'The basis of the language is the Malay language adapted and modified in accordance with its growth and development in society'.[18]

It has been customary for the controversy to be seen as one between progressive Javanese and conservative Sumatrans, mostly of the Minangkabau ethnic group. Thus Dutch scholar CC Berg wrote in 1955 that, as a result of the decisions of the congress, the Sumatrans in favour of adhering to the classical norms of Malay grammar would be defeated by the Javanese, who did not feel bound to the traditional form of the language. However, not all conservatives were Sumatran and not all progressives were Javanese. Alisjahbana, a Sumatran who played an important part at the congress, was an outspoken champion of modernising Indonesian through acceptance of Western influence. The success of such people in gaining acceptance for their views on the need to modernise the language marks the Medan congress as an important event in the modernising of the Indonesian language. Many writers now felt released from the constraints of Classical Malay and were more willing to experiment with language.

SPELLING REFORM

In 1959, a cultural agreement was signed with Malaya, which included co-operation in language development. Negotiations began on a joint spelling system for the two standard forms of Malay, to replace the separate systems in place until then, the Malay system, based on English conventions, and the Indonesian system, based on Dutch conventions, as modified by the Soewandi spelling reform of 1947.[19] An agreement

was reached for the *Melindo* (a contraction of 'Malaya' and 'Indonesia') spelling system, but, with the establishment of the Federation of Malaysia in 1963 and the launching of Sukarno's Confrontation campaign against the new state, plans to introduce the new spelling and co-operation in language planning were abandoned. Co-operation between the two states was resumed in 1966 after the fall of Sukarno and in 1967 a proposal for a new joint spelling was drafted. The final step in the spelling reform came in 1972, when the *Ejaan yang Disempurnakan* (Perfected Spelling) was introduced as a co-operative venture with Malaysia. The new spelling was announced by President Suharto on Independence Day, 17 August 1972.

Under the new system, differences in the Indonesian and Malaysian spelling of consonants were removed. For Indonesian, this meant the following changes:

SOEWANDI SPELLING	*tj*	*dj*	*j*	*nj*	*sj*	*ch*
PERFECTED SPELLING	*c*	*j*	*y*	*ny*	*sy*	*kh*

In part to make the language more receptive to European loan words the new spelling also accepted a number of consonants occurring only in borrowings as legitimate parts of the system, these being *f*, *v*, *z*, *kh* (like the 'ch' sound in German *Bach*) and *sy* (like the 'sh' sound in 'she').

Once again, many people preferred to retain the older spelling in their names. Thus a person whose name was spelt *Djaja* was very likely to retain this rather than change it to *Jaya*. Names of places, however, were changed; thus *Djakarta* became *Jakarta*.

THE *PUSAT BAHASA*

After the change of government in 1966, the *Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya* was placed under the Department of Education and Culture and in 1969 it was reconstituted as the *Lembaga Bahasa Nasional* (National Language Institute).

It was not until the early 1970s that the New Order government of President Suharto began to pay serious attention to language planning. In his 1972 Independence Day speech, Suharto stated that the building of the Indonesian language was a national responsibility and linked good language with national development, calling for the use of *bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar* (good and proper Indonesian), a plea he repeated in Independence Day speeches in subsequent years.[20]

The *Lembaga Bahasa Nasional* had been seen as suffering a great shortage of Indonesian language specialists who could be entrusted with the implementation of basic projects to develop and propagate the language and at this time there was more study being carried out of a number of regional languages by linguistic scholars than of the national language. The Second Development Plan, commenced in 1974, included specific goals for language development. Funding for the institute and for the promotion of the national language was increased eight-fold, with attention to be given, among other things, to increasing staff numbers in the institute and to radio and television language programs aimed at improving the public's proficiency in the national language.[21]

The *Lembaga Bahasa Nasional* was restructured in 1974, making it directly responsible to the Minister of Education and Culture and greatly increasing its ability to undertake language study, development and promotion. In 1975, it became the *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* (The Centre for Language Cultivation and Development), commonly known as the *Pusat Bahasa* (Language Centre). The abbreviated name became its official title in 2001.

The *Pusat Bahasa*, particularly from 1984 under its new, dynamic director Anton Moeliono, was much more active than its predecessors, concentrating its efforts both on *pembinaan* (cultivation) and *pengembangan* (development).[22] Cultivation referred to improving the public's use of Indonesian, through school education and through other activities aimed at reaching the public and convincing people of the importance of using 'good and correct language'. In addition to increasing users' knowledge of the language, the development of a positive attitude to the national language was seen as fundamental to the centre's aims. Development referred to continued efforts to codify and elaborate the language, particularly through the production of a new dictionary and grammar. Underlying development was the assumption that the language could not be left to find its own way, but that progress must be consciously guided.

The work of the *Pusat Bahasa* has continued to the present. It also carries out research on regional languages of Indonesia and sponsors PhD students in study of both Indonesian and regional languages. In the 1980s, the centre was successful in obtaining increased funding and attracting support from overseas, such as from the British Council and, in particular, the Dutch government. It has also continued the work of its predecessors in conducting radio and television programs on good usage.

ALISJAHBANA VS MOELIONO

Like Alisjahbana, Moeliono was a progressive, but differences in attitude brought a certain amount of conflict between the camps they represented. The basic difference was that Moeliono wanted to base the modern language on the old, but Alisjahbana wanted to throw out the old and begin anew.

The language-planning bodies had generally tried to base their lexicographic decisions on suggestions from experts representing a variety of disciplines, such as agriculture, law, education, economics and medicine. From the beginning of the official coining of terms in 1942, there had always been the question of where new terms should come from. Frequently there was disagreement as different people had their own preferences for Sanskrit, Arabic, European or local sources, although in the early days overwhelmingly the source for coinings was Dutch. In some fields, such as chemistry, Greek and Latin terms dominated, being internationally accepted (including occurrence in Dutch, via which they came).

Alisjahbana preferred European sources, especially where they were already internationally accepted, since he saw this as allowing Indonesia to participate more effectively in the international exchange of modern ideas. Indonesian would thus be more 'intertranslatable' with other modern languages and be an instrument for transforming Indonesian society. In practice, there was inconsistency in Alisjahbana's views. He argued strongly for Western influence, but since the 1930s he had pleaded in vain for the retention of traditional Malay phonological patterns in order to preserve the Malay-based identity of Indonesian.[23] Also, he did not oppose Malay as a source of borrowing, either by resurrecting older words and giving them modern meanings or making the meanings of modern words more specific. Thus he wrote approvingly of the decision by the *Komisi Bahasa* (of which he was a member) during the Japanese period to confine the Malay word *urat* (vein, muscle, sinew, tendon) specifically to the meaning 'tendon', with the word *pembulu* (a long hollow passage) being assigned the meaning 'blood vessel' and a Javanese word *otot* being assigned the meaning 'muscle'.[24] These became the accepted meanings for these words. Nevertheless, his first choice was Western words, particularly if they were already internationally recognised.

Unlike Alisjahbana, Moeliono preferred seeking solutions first in the Malay language. If a suitable word for a needed concept could not be found in Malay, it should be sought in regional Indonesian

languages. Borrowing from English should only be resorted to if these other possibilities failed to fulfil the need. His position, and that of others associated with the *Pusat Bahasa*, is in part a reaction to the indiscriminate and unplanned adoption of a great many English words, expressions and constructions by the Indonesian press and educated public, even when perfectly good Indonesian words are available (as discussed in Chapter 9).

Moeliono sought archaic Malay words in older dictionaries and 'updated' their meanings to fill needs in the lexicon.[25] Thus older *canggih*, meaning 'bothersome, carping', was resurrected as 'sophisticated' and introduced in 1984, having immediate success with the public; *adi* (superior) and *kuasa* (power) were combined as *adi kuasa* (superpower) when a suitable term for this concept was needed. Moeliono and others introduced a great many words into the modern language in this way, sometimes replacing Western words that were not as yet really assimilated. Thus *pantau*, an archaic word for 'see', was introduced to replace *monitor; suku cadang*, from *suku* (part) and *cadang* (something set aside), was introduced to replace *onderdil* (Dutch *onderdeel*), meaning 'spare part'; *tayang* (hold up to the light) was reintroduced as 'present (a program on television)'; *mantan*, meaning 'no longer used' in the Besemah dialect of Sumatra, was introduced in the meaning 'ex-, former'. Many such words, resurrected or coined by Moeliono and others as individual efforts, gained immediate acceptance by the community and were soon in frequent use in the mass media, unlike most terms issued from terminology committees, which have been far less frequently adopted.

Alisjahbana and Moeliono were both progressives who were passionate about developing Indonesian to be both a dynamic language, able to express all the concepts of the modern world, and a national language, fully accepted with pride by the Indonesian people. The major difference between them was that Alisjahbana was an internationalist who rejected the past, while Moeliono was a nationalist who wanted to build on the past.

Nevertheless, Alisjahbana was hostile to the work of the *Pusat Bahasa*, especially in its failure to look solely to the West for its inspiration, and in 1986 he called for it to be broken up into three sections: one to concentrate on language teaching methodology, one to be involved, along with *Balai Pustaka*, in translation activities, and one to combine with planning authorities in Singapore, Malaysia and Brunei to develop a single national language.

There was a swift and sensationalist reaction from the press to Alisjahbana's call, with the major Jakarta newspaper *Kompas* reporting on its front page the call for the *Pusat Bahasa* to be abolished (*dihapus*).[26] The Minister of Education and Culture, however, reacted with a short statement to the effect that the language centre was 'very important and necessary' and that language cultivation and development was a top priority (*prioritas utama*).[27] In his statement, Alisjahbana criticised the terminology activities of the centre, particularly its inability to distinguish between necessity and playing 'language games', the lack of attention paid to whether or not new words are used by the community, and the excess of purism in replacing words borrowed from English with Sanskrit and Javanese words. He also criticised the replacing of Western terms by archaic Malay words, citing *pantau* for 'monitor' and *canggih* for 'sophisticated', mentioned above, on the grounds that the Malay terms were unnecessary and 'strange to the ear' (*terdengar tak biasa di telinga*), even though the new terms had been readily accepted by the public. It is extraordinary that Alisjahbana would regard the Malay *canggih* as problematic and not the quite foreign-sounding 'sophisticated'. The answer lies in the fact that he was 'extremely hostile to anything from the "old"'.[28] He was obsessed with the internationalisation of the language and viewed the replacing of Western terms as a threat to this process.

CULTIVATION AND DISSEMINATION

One of the major difficulties that the *Pusat Bahasa* has always faced has been with disseminating its work to the public. It is a problem that faced its predecessors from the beginnings of language planning. As early as 1954, Alisjahbana criticised the *Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya* (Institute for Language and Culture) for its inability to convey its message to the public, saying that new terms were being hidden rather than presented to the community. He pointed out that the Second Indonesian National Language Congress, held in 1954, was a wasted opportunity to publicise their work.[29]

Since then, terminology creators have displayed a consistent inability to market their product successfully. They have lacked public relations expertise and failed to establish institutional links with the mass media and even with the Department of Education and Culture. Having only an advisory role, the *Pusat Bahasa* has no control over implementation of its decisions. It publishes a bi-monthly newsletter on

word usage and points of grammar. The newsletter is in a rather drab format, numbers containing such uninspiring mottoes as *Bahasa Indonesia adalah kekayaan rohani bangsa Indonesia* (The Indonesian language is the spiritual wealth of the Indonesian people).[30] Due to poor marketing, the newsletter is unlikely to reach many people. The centre also publishes new terms and terminology guidelines for the mass media, but with few links to the press the message is rarely listened to. The media in general prefer to coin and borrow terms independently, rather than adopting those of the *Pusat Bahasa*, which they frequently consider outmoded or inappropriate.

The weekly television program *Pembinaan bahasa Indonesia* (Building Indonesian), commenced by the *Lembaga Bahasa Nasional* in the 1970s on TVRI, the sole television channel at that time, and continued by the *Pusat Bahasa*, presented an excellent opportunity for communicating directly to the public. Unfortunately, it was always seen as unimaginative and boring, consisting of 'talking heads' droning on about the correct way to use particular words. The style was formal and pedantic, lacking variation and creativity. Prepared and presented by language planners rather than 'personalities' the show lacked any element of entertainment and was perceived as mere lecturing. With the opening of new television channels to rival TVRI in the late 1980s, the program became even less appealing. Radio programs too were disappointing, although more recently a weekly hour-long talk-back session conducted by Anton Moeliono, has proved more lively, allowing interaction with the public.

Since 1980, there has been an official *Bulan Bahasa* (Language Month) every October, during which the *Pusat Bahasa* obtains some publicity in the mass media for its cause. In the early years, the campaign for the use of 'good and proper' language gained quite a volume of media attention (although a greater focus of attention was the *Sumpah Pemuda* and its reinvented place in the history of the nationalist movement — see p. 102). However, by the late 1980s this interest was on the wane and its influence since then has not been felt widely in the community.

The Third Indonesian National Language Congress was held in 1978, beginning a series of five-yearly congresses under the auspices of the *Pusat Bahasa*. These attract many hundreds of participants from around Indonesia, most of them involved in some way with Indonesian language teaching at tertiary level. They also attract overseas researchers and teachers of the language. The congresses have a high profile, with

much media coverage and a presidential reception. The Sixth Indonesian National Language Congress in 1993 was addressed by no fewer than seven cabinet ministers.

A great many papers are read at the congresses, often three or four sessions running simultaneously over five days. Plenary sessions debate important language issues and resolutions are passed.[31] However, there is a considerable amount of cynicism about what all this achieves. The same language issues, usually relating to standardisation, tend to be put on the agenda for successive congresses, without tangible results except for the spelling reform of 1972. Without the authority to put resolutions into effect and with little influence on those who might be in a position to do so, the language planners have always been largely powerless to implement resolutions, so that subsequent congress organisers have found it necessary to reiterate the same policies.[32]

Furthermore, most resolutions have been of the vague, all-encompassing 'feel good' type. Thus the decisions of the Fourth Indonesian National Language Congress in 1983 included, under the aims of language teaching: 'to achieve a standard and accurate language that is appropriate and efficient as a means of communication; to achieve skill in the use of language as a means of communication and knowledge', and so on. Steps to be taken to achieve these aims included: 'to improve the quality of the teaching of Indonesian; to establish national policy on the position and function of Indonesian as the medium of education and teaching', and so on.[33] The fourth congress did make the positive resolution to compile a descriptive reference grammar and a comprehensive general dictionary. These were to be produced to combat what delegates saw as 'usage that does not reflect clear, logical and systematic thinking, and unnecessary use of foreign terminology in place of Indonesian words'.

It was only at the Fifth Indonesian National Language Congress in 1988 that the *Pusat Bahasa* could claim a significant achievement, with the publication for presentation at the congress of the new standard grammar *Tata Bahasa Baku Bahasa Indonesia* (Standard Grammar of Indonesian) and dictionary *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Comprehensive Indonesian Dictionary). Second editions of these appeared in time for the sixth congress in 1993 and a third edition of the grammar was presented at the seventh congress in 1998.[34]

Alisjahbana had long argued the necessity for a normative grammar setting out the standard for good usage, attacking linguists for their hands-off approach and avoidance of value judgments.[35] He

declared that such an attitude, while justified in the West, where highly standardised official languages had long existed, was unacceptable for Indonesia where, because of the multilingual nature of society, a standardised form of national language was essential for national unity. To that end, a comprehensive normative grammar was essential, to replace his own modest work. The new grammar was a considerable advance on that of Alisjahbana, which had been the most widely used grammar in education circles. *Tata Bahasa Baku* makes it clear that *bahasa baku* (standard language) is to be equated with the variety of language spoken and written in formal situations by educated speakers (the diglossic H) and its description is confined entirely to this. While it recognises that there are many varieties of Indonesian, those other than the variety it describes are labelled non-standard. It thus recognises nothing approximating a standard variety of informal language.

Tata Bahasa Baku underwent considerable revision in the following two editions, although it is doubtful if changes enhanced the quality of the work overall. Although the compilers aimed at producing a comprehensive and authoritative statement of Standard Indonesian, in many ways *Tata Bahasa Baku* is a disappointing effort at a model of standard usage. For one thing, the description of a great many aspects of grammar is too brief and even frequently superficial. There seems to have been a subconscious attitude among the compilers that as Indonesians know the details of their language only broad outlines need be given.

As an example, the transitive verbal suffixes *-kan* and *-i* cause much difficulty for Indonesians; there is considerable uncertainty about how to use them, even among well-educated speakers, because they rarely occur in everyday (L) varieties of the language (see p. 121). Consequently this is an area of grammar that deserves detailed discussion for the guidance of the public. Yet *Tata Bahasa Baku* gives the two suffixes just six pages (an improvement on the three pages in Alisjahbana's grammar), increasing to eight pages in the third edition. By contrast, an English-language description of Indonesian published in 1996, in a far from exhaustive description, devotes 29 pages to the same suffixes.[36] There is very little in *Tata Bahasa Baku*'s discussion to inform users on the various functions of these suffixes and the structures in which they occur. The same is true of a great many other areas of morphology and syntax.

The grammar entirely ignores inconsistencies and irregularities,

the description of which is such an important responsibility of such a work, and thereby fails to contribute to codification. It is also marred by a great deal of verbose and frequently vague discussion about the language at the expense of clear description, leading one writer to refer to parts of the second and third editions as 'empty, uninformative prattle'.[37] Anton Moeliono, one of the major figures in the designing and production of the grammar, has stated: 'Indonesian grammar has recently been officially codified'.[38] This is revealing about the lack of awareness among the language planners of the enormous deficiencies in the work, as well as their failure to recognise that codification requires more than mere statements in a book.

The dictionary *Kamus Besar* is, in a number of ways, a considerable advance on the earlier dictionary *Kamus Umum* (see p. 161), updating the language and containing many thousands of new entries. The compilation of a dictionary of Standard Indonesian presented problems that lexicographers of English do not have. There is, for instance, considerably more disagreement about the meanings of many words in Indonesian than occurs among speakers of Standard English. There is also much variation in the use of affixed forms; for instance, of suffixes *-kan* and *-i* (an area in which *Tata Bahasa Baku* should have offered guidance, as already mentioned). The compilers of *Kamus Besar* must therefore have been under considerable pressure in determining which forms they would regard as standard and what meanings they would assign. Unfortunately, the dictionary gives no indication that such problems occur, nor the basis on which the compilers made their decisions.

One deficiency far too common in *Kamus Besar* is the defining of terms simply by citing synonyms, resulting in uninformative circularity. 'Not only does the practice obscure the shades of meaning which in reality distinguish these "synonyms", it also creates vicious circles: strings of "synonyms" which begin and end with the same entry'.[39] Moreover, in numerous cases the cited synonym is itself not listed. In one of many instances, *mengaruniakan* (give a gift — base *karunia*) merely refers the user to the synonym *menganugerahkan* (base *anugerah*), a form that does not occur in the dictionary.

Moeliono has stated that 'The compiling of dictionaries is important to standardisation of the lexicon'.[40] But various inadequacies in definitions of entries in the official dictionary raise strong doubts about the contribution it will make to standardising the language.

LANGUAGE PROBLEMS IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

One of the best channels for dissemination of 'good and proper' language and for developing a standard form of the language has lain in the education system, in which formal Indonesian is both a compulsory subject and the medium of instruction. However, there have been a number of factors severely hampering exploitation of this opportunity.

First, knowledge of Standard Indonesian among teachers has not been universally good. The change from pre-war elite education to mass education after independence, despite its many benefits, resulted in a substantial drop in quality. Many teachers in the post-war period were neither proficient speakers of the language nor well trained to teach and this problem has never been fully overcome. The claim was made in 1994 that 30 per cent of teachers at primary and secondary levels were not qualified to teach Indonesian.[41]

Secondly, while the influence of planners on the education system has been greater than their influence on the press (discussed in Chapter 8), it has suffered through lack of comprehensive reference materials suitable for school use. Before 1988, the major grammar text used was Alisjahbana's *Tatabahasa Baru* (New Grammar), first published in 1949. Although this was little more than a brief sketch, it was held in high regard by Indonesian linguists, one writing, 'In a time of the complete absence of good texts on Indonesian we were fortunate to have the *Tatabahasa* as a concrete guide to teachers, students, and the rest of the public'.[42] Anton Moeliono has written that, 'To most teachers this was *the* grammar book that had shaped their competence and their methods of teaching'.[43] The cynic could respond that it is no wonder their competence was so poor. The publication of the official descriptive grammar *Tata Bahasa Baku* in 1988 did little to improve the situation, offering little in the way of the clear, detailed information and advice needed by teachers.

Thirdly, language teaching in schools has tended to concentrate on the learning of grammar rules, somewhat similar to the 'dos and don'ts' of traditional English grammar teaching, with an almost complete absence of attention to the acquisition of communication skills, often having a stultifying effect on students' competence and interest. Although most children are exposed to formal Indonesian only on entering school, the problem of using the language as a medium of instruction has not been addressed and principles of second language acquisition have played little part in teaching the language. Most

students get little opportunity during their education to develop functional language ability and the system is perpetuated as teachers continue to teach the way they were taught.

As a result of unimaginative language teaching, students tend to regard classes as boring and the language as stiff and uninteresting, a point made by Alisjahbana as early as 1955.[44] One educationist (also Catholic priest, writer and architect), YB Mangunwijaya, who died in 1998, founded his own schools, stating that he did so because he had given up hope of reform in the public system, which did not teach love and care of language and reading. Further, many millions of children in Indonesia have had no opportunity for a full education and many receive no education at all. The situation was severely worsened by the financial crisis of 1997 and subsequent social upheaval and, by the end of the century, the percentage of children going without any education had risen sharply. Such children have next to no opportunity to acquire proficiency in formal language.

Criticism of the education system and poor language teaching continues. Improved curricula for language teaching have been developed, especially since the early 1990s, but application of the guidelines to classroom practice has usually been deficient, with many teachers lacking the skills to interpret the text of the syllabus. Nevertheless, there have been some promising changes from the late 1990s, with some teachers introducing more imaginative courses, so that from early primary school pupils get the opportunity to hear and use expressive language, with the prospect that their interest in language, and hence their competence, will be enhanced.[45]

The language ability of university staff and students is also frequently deplored. One Australian academic wrote in 1974 that 'a reading of student or even staff papers from many university faculties in Indonesia shows that there is still a casual attitude towards precise expression'.[46] Twenty-six years later, at a conference in July 2000, speakers were still criticising the lack of ability among university staff and students in expressing themselves in precise Indonesian. A study of the language competence of lecturers at one university found lack of clarity, directness and precision in writing and poor ability to adhere to the rules of grammar and to write in well-formed sentences.[47]

The problems with the education system have led to a large percentage of the population being far from competent speakers and writers of the formal language. Along with attempts to disseminate *bahasa yang baik dan benar* (good and correct language) are regular complaints

by language planners and social commentators that most people are poor users of the language, with a limited command of registers, and a lack of desire to read and develop language skills. Every October, in Language Month, there appear articles in the media decrying the poverty of language skills and declaring the obligation of every citizen to develop awareness of good language. Even among supposedly well-educated people, poor ability in expression is apparent when they write or speak in public.

BAHASA PEJABAT

One prominent group that has drawn constant criticism for poor public speaking is higher officials, including government ministers. The speech of many high government officials has always been characterised by poorly formed sentences, limited and incorrectly used vocabulary, and long-winded, vague constructions in place of concise, accurate speech. President Suharto was not a good speaker of Indonesian (despite his Independence Day speeches — the products of speech writers — calling for the public to improve their language) and carried over many features of his native Javanese into Indonesian. The most pervasive and most commented on features have been his pronunciation of the verbal suffix *-kan* as *-ken*, as in Javanese, with some other characteristics being excessive use of the suffix *-nya* and the preposition *dari-pada*. These mannerisms were retained by many prominent Javanese, including cabinet ministers, and imitated by sycophants in high public positions, who were frequently heard and seen on television. Although they were an elite, their speech was treated with disdain by language purists. Without mentioning the president or other prominent people, writers on such issues condemned incorrect pronunciation and usage. University lecturers, social commentators, writers of letters to the editor in newspapers, and others sarcastically refer to this style as *bahasa pejabat* (officialese — literally 'language of officials').

At the Seventh Indonesian National Language Congress, in October 1998, participants openly derided this style, more than they would have previously dared during the Suharto period, and called for officials to improve their competence in the language, stating that people in prominent positions should be models of good usage. One concern of the planners has been that, if the elite in society display little attention to their own language usage, the public will see little point in doing better. However, despite condemnation over many years, officials have shown little inclination to improve their habits; as one social

commentator put it: 'Occupying the paramount position in the political life of the nation-state, these officials can simply ignore the criticism'.[48] The fact is that changing their habits would not be an easy task; these officials, including Suharto (President until 1998), have poor language skills, a legacy of their inadequate language education, and would have to make a significant effort to improve. In reporting such officials verbatim, newspapers often retain their errors, thereby helping to spread the use of 'officialese'.

Government officials are also prominent among those who are inclined to incorporate an excessive amount of English into their speech, often referred to as *bahasa gado-gado* (mixed up language). This tendency is much condemned by language planners and other purists, especially when the English used is either inappropriate or incorrect.

ELITE LANGUAGE AND ALIENATION

Calls for good language have been linked to the New Order's development plans (as mentioned on p. 128). Indonesian has been seen as an essential element in national unity and in the government's task of communicating its message to the nation. The New Order government viewed the standardisation, modernisation and intellectualisation of the language to enable innovation and communication of information as a necessary component of economic development. In his Independence Day speech in 1973, Suharto stated: 'Correct and orderly language reflects a way of thinking, attitudes, and behaviour which are also correct and orderly. And this orderliness is the main key for the success of the creation and development of the nation'.[49] In 1983, legislation was passed stating that the language must be created, developed and used appropriately and correctly.[50] It is doubtful if such legislation actually achieved anything, although it did reaffirm the government's ideological stand on the important role of language in development. The elevation of the *Sumpah Pemuda* in the 1980s to a position of high national importance (see p. 102) was also in line with the government's *Pembangunan* (Development) ideology, emphasising national stability and discipline.[51]

Some critics have seen the activities of the *Pusat Bahasa* as part of New Order attempts to manipulate the language to their own ends. One consistent critic of the language centre's and the government's program, Ariel Heryanto, has called the national language essentially elite-centred, stating that 'the vast majority of the population, which forms the lower strata of the social hierarchy, is practically excluded, or

at best marginalised, from the dynamic productive process of legitimate Indonesian'.[52] It is certainly true that development of the language has not been matched by a rise in general education levels, and this has contributed to alienation of large sections of the community from the formal language.

This leads to the issue of attitudes to the national language. There appears to be a contradiction in the attitude of many people, who feel both pride in Indonesian as the national language and at the same time view it as something remote from their own lives and beyond their ability to master.

On the one hand, there is considerable prestige attached to mastering formal Indonesian. Proficiency is a sign of a good education and therefore of a certain elite position in society. There is also widespread pride in Indonesian as the national language and symbol of national unity. Indonesians often show pride in having their own language, unlike many Asian countries that have not successfully established a single indigenous national language and, as a consequence, have needed to recognise English as an official language, such as India, Singapore, the Philippines, and Malaysia. The teaching of Indonesian in other countries is of considerable interest and is reported on in the media from time to time.

On the other hand, many people feel alienated from the high form of the language and have no inclination to participate in efforts to cultivate the language. Formal Indonesian is acquired as part of the education process, the usual situation where there is diglossia. Those who do not achieve well in education — and many millions have little opportunity to acquire a good education — view it as something for the elite, beyond their own expectations. Those who do have the opportunity for schooling nevertheless often fail to develop proficiency, especially in writing, due in part to the method of teaching, especially the lack of emphasis on communication skills.

A feeling that 'good and correct language' is beyond reach is therefore common. As a consequence, there is little emotional attachment to it or motivation to improve competence; those who have tried to 'win the hearts and minds' of the community have, on the whole, failed to do so. One prominent Indonesian linguistics scholar, Harimurti Kridalaksana, has placed the blame for the situation on the attitude in the education system that standard (formal) language is the only variety deserving positive evaluation. He has stated that there should be a more positive view of non-standard forms of the language, calling for the

claim that formal language is applicable in all situations to be done away with. Instead, it should be acknowledged that it has limited functions, being complementary to colloquial speech. Unless this is done, the common attitude among school students that 'it is something impractical which has to be learnt by heart just to get a certificate, will not change'.[53]

THE ADVICE INDUSTRY

Despite the fact that many people are indifferent to 'good and correct' language, there is nevertheless a considerable population who wish to be able to use the language correctly on the right occasions, often because they perceive this as enhancing employment prospects. This has led to the growth of a sizeable advice industry, as people seek rulings and guidance on the correct and appropriate use of language. Many of the advice givers are associated with the *Pusat Bahasa*, principal among them being Yus Badudu, well known from his weekly television program which began in 1977. He has also been prolific in print. His column in the popular magazine *Intisari* dealt with particular issues and answered readers' questions and was republished in booklet form in the *Inilah bahasa Indonesia yang benar* (This is correct Indonesian) series, beginning in 1983. In the 1990s, Badadu produced another series, *Membina bahasa Indonesia baku* (Building standard Indonesian), an expansion of advice on good usage given in his weekly television session, as well as other series of booklets. Numerous others have published in similar fashion, all attesting to the continuing demand for such advice. Among other things, these works deal with questions of spelling, pronunciation and word usage. They frequently discuss *salah kaprah*, errors condemned by purists but which are so common that most people think they are correct usage.

The advice given to the public reveals a fair amount of disagreement among the specialists on just what is acceptable as good usage. For instance, some, including the compilers of the standard grammar *Tata Bahasa Baku*, allow the copula *adalah* to occur before an adjective, as in *Setiap orang adalah penting* (Every person is important). Other commentators strictly rule this out, allowing it only before nouns, as in *Dia adalah raja* (He is the king).[54] Some, again including *Tata Bahasa Baku*, allow the benefactive suffix *-kan* to occur on a verb whose object is the patient, as in *Ida membelikan buku untuk adiknya* (Ida bought a book for her brother). Others state that this is ungrammatical, *-kan* only

being permitted if the object identifies the beneficiary, as in *Ida membelikan adiknya buku* (Ida bought her brother a book).[55]

There are numerous such differences occurring in popular grammars and publications of the advice industry. They reveal a certain lack of consensus among grammarians and teachers as to what is standard and reflect differences in actual usage among educated speakers. Those seeking authoritative rulings on such matters must regret the failure of the compilers of the standard grammar *Tata Bahasa Baku* to give clear and detailed direction on the areas of uncertainty. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to imagine that there is great conflict on these matters among planners and advice givers; by and large, their message is the same.

8

BEYOND PLANNING: OTHER INFLUENCES ON THE LANGUAGE

Many developments in the language since independence have resulted from factors other than the activities of the official language-planning bodies. Some individuals have been influential. In particular, Sukarno, the first president, was a powerful force and deserves separate consideration. The mass media have been little influenced by the planners and have played a significant role in the developments occurring in the language. One notable development has been the excessive use of acronyms and abbreviations for which the press, along with government officials and the military, have largely been responsible. Acronyms and related forms are given separate consideration below. Finally, there has been the influence of other languages, both regional and foreign, much of it against the wishes of the planners. The strongest influence in recent decades has been from English and this is considered separately in Chapter 9.

THE INFLUENCE OF SUKARNO

For much of the 1950s, Sukarno lacked formal political power and had to rely a great deal on his unique skills as an orator to convey his political ideas to the nation.[1] As an orator he was unsurpassed in Indonesia and was a master at manipulating the public. Almost all language teachers and language cultivators thought his language was ungrammatical and verbose; he departed from the traditional Malay style, breaking rules of grammar and using words incorrectly. But his language was also vigorous, dynamic and flexible, something the people could respond to. He had the habit of throwing foreign and Javanese words and expressions into his speeches and writings — he

was an excellent polyglot — oblivious to whether or not his audience understood.

Even when his audience did not understand, his speeches excited them. He used powerful words, like *menghantam* (strike, pound) and *menggempur* (smash, demolish), and provocative and stirring phrases, like *jiwa revolusi* (the soul of the revolution) and *negara mulia* (the glorious state). He used impressive-sounding cries and catch phrases, like *bintang yang menari berjingklak-jingklak*, meaning 'the joyfully dancing star (of freedom)', and picked up euphonious snatches from other languages, such as Italian (*vivere pericoloso* for 'living dangerously')[2] and French (*socialisme à la Indonesia*). In this way, he projected an image of revolutionary zeal and dynamism, which at the same time made his speeches more lively and memorable. His words have been called instruments of power. For instance, he used active voice constructions much more than most Indonesian writers; in his Independence Day speech on 17 August 1955, entitled *Tetap terbanglah, rajawali* (Keep flying, O powerful eagle — *rajawali* being the name of a particular kind of large eagle, chosen for its evocation of power), by one count he used just four passive verbs, in marked contrast to most Indonesian writers, who use a much greater proportion of passive constructions.[3]

Following Sukarno's assumption of full power in the late 1950s under the policy of Guided Democracy, he continued his charismatic style in speeches and writings, using slogans and catchcries to enhance his appeal to the people, despite the economic hardship his policies were causing the nation. By breaking many of the accepted rules of traditional School Malay grammar, Sukarno helped form a more modern, Western style of language, as in the greater use of active voice. In particular, his style had a strong influence on the language of the press.

He and his followers created a great number of acronyms, along with word blends and abbreviations, beginning a trend that continues today, as discussed in the next section.

ACRONYMS AND OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

Acronyms and blends have played a big part in the Indonesian language since at least the 1950s.[4] An acronym is a word formed from the first letters of other words. The process is not unknown in English; 'radar' is an acronym formed from '*ra*dio *d*etecting *a*nd *r*anging'. Blends are words formed from parts of other words, such as 'motel' from '*mot*or hot*el*'. Both processes have become prominent characteristics of modern language usage in Indonesian. An example of an acronym is *ABRI*,

standing for ***A**ngkatan **B**ersenjata **R**epublic **I**ndonesia* (Indonesian Armed Forces). Some acronyms are usually spelt, as in this example, with capitals but are pronounced as single words. Initial letters are, however, pronounced separately if their juxtaposition does not allow for easy pronunciation as a word. Thus the initials *PKI*, standing for ***P**artai **K**omunis **I**ndonesia* (Indonesian Communist Party), are pronounced separately (*pe-ka-i*). Indonesians have shown great ingenuity in selecting letters from words in phrases to come up with easily pronounceable blends. Thus *rudal* (guided missile) is from *pelu**ru*** (bullet) and *ken**dali*** (reined, controlled).

Acronyms and blends are so common that journalists and commentators often do not bother to first mention what they stand for. No Indonesian needs to be reminded what *ABRI* and *PKI* stand for. But there is such a profusion of forms that frequently many if not most people do not know what is being referred to. Letters to the editor in newspapers frequently complain of the profusion of acronyms occurring in the press without explanation, readers presumably being expected to know what they mean. There are even articles in newspapers and magazines on the matter, but it does not seem to deter journalists from using such forms. Since the 1960s, numerous booklets have been published listing abbreviations and their meanings, but these soon go out of date.

Many creations last for just a brief period before disappearing, dropping quickly out of use as the bodies or concepts they refer to disappear. Thus in the mid-1980s *sidak* frequently occurred in the press, standing for *inspek**si** menda**dak*** (sudden inspection). It dropped out of use when the minister who became notorious for making such unannounced inspections of factories lost his job. On the other hand, many have become accepted in the language as words in their own right, such as:

bemo (from ***be**cak ber**mo**tor*)	motorised *becak* (pedicab)
iptek (from ***i**lmu **p**engetahuan dan **tek**nologi*)	science and technology
puskesmas (from ***pus**at **kes**ehatan **mas**yarakat*)	community health centre
tapol (from ***ta**hanan **pol**itik*)	political detainee

'Airport' is *bandar udara*, often abbreviated to *bandara*. Journalists have been known to be confused into thinking that this is not an abbreviation and have given the redundant form *bandara udara* (literally 'air air-port').

Some acronyms are used as euphemisms. *TKI* stands for ***t**enaga **k**erja **I**ndonesia* (Indonesian worker), referring specifically to Indonesians who take low-paid jobs, either legally or illegally, in other countries. *WNI* is ***w**arga **n**egara **I**ndonesia* (Indonesian citizen), but is usually code for Indonesian Chinese, while *WTS*, from ***w**anita **t**una **s**usila* (woman without morals), is a prostitute.

There is simply no limit to what names can be abbreviated and in what ways. In the late 1950s, ballet depicting episodes from the Hindu epics and based on a synthesis of Western and Javanese dancing-cum-drama was developed and named *sendratari* for ***s**eni **dra**ma dan **tari*** (art of drama and dance). *Pemilu* is an abbreviation for ***pemil**ihan **u**mum* (general election). *Tilang* is a traffic ticket, from *buk**ti** pe**lang**garan (lalu lintas)*, meaning 'proof of violation (of traffic regulations)'. It has also become a verb base, so *ditilang* means 'to be given a traffic ticket'.

Sukarno was fond of creating politically meaningful blends in the 1950s and 1960s, such as *berdikari* (from ***berdi**ri di atas **ka**ki sendi**ri***), meaning 'to be independent' (literally 'to stand on one's own feet'), and *nekolim* (for ***neo**-**kol**onialisme dan **im**perialisme*), meaning 'neo-colonialism and imperialism'.

In the early 1960s, Indonesia held the *Ganefo* Games, a blend based on the English '**Ga**mes of the **Ne**w Emerging **Fo**rces'. Abbreviations are frequently thought up for particular events, such as *Gestapu* for ***Ge**rakan **S**eptember **Tiga** **Pu**luh* (The thirtieth of September Movement), referring to the failed coup of 30 September 1965. This example shows a typical, if rather more imaginative than usual, attempt to make a link to something else, in this case associating the conspirators with the dreaded Gestapo; the creator even reversed the normal order of day plus month to achieve the effect.[5] A later variant for the same event was *G30S PKI*, for ***G**erakan **30 S**eptember* (30 September Movement), but adding the initials of the Indonesian Communist Party to explicitly link them to the event. Soon after taking power in 1966, Suharto was given the nickname *Supersemar*, suggesting he was a super version of the wise *wayang* character Semar, the name deriving from ***S**urat **P**erintah **S**ebelas **Mar**et*, the 'Eleventh of March Instruction', by which Suharto manoeuvred to take power from Sukarno.

Public and military offices have always been a popular area for abbreviation. The Foreign Minister is *Menlu* (***Men**teri **lu**ar Negeri*), *Menko Ekuin* stands for ***Men**teri **Ko**ordinator Bidang **Ek**onomi dan **In**dustri* (Coordinating Minister for Economic and Industrial Affairs).

The Commander of the Armed Forces is *Pangab*, for ***Pang**lima **A**ngkatan **B**ersenjata*. Military ranks are rarely given in full, either in the press or in speech, abbreviations such as *letkol* for ***let**nan **kol**onel* (lieutenant colonel) and *brigjen* for ***brig**adir **jen**deral* (brigadier general) occurring instead. Abbreviations can appear ludicrously long, such as *MayJen TNI Syamsul Ma'arif, Kapuspen Hankam ABRI*, for ***May**or **Jen**deral **T**entara **N**asional **I**ndonesia, Syamsul Ma'arif, **K**epala **Pus**at **Pen**erangan, Perta**han**an dan **K**e**am**anan **A**ngkatan **B**ersenjata **R**epublik **I**ndonesia* (Army Major General Syamsul Ma'arif, Head of the Information Centre, Defence and Security, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia), or *Markas Brimob Polda Kalbar* for ***Markas Brig**ade **Mob**il **Pol**isi **Da**erah **Ka**limantan **Bar**at* (Headquarters of the West Kalimantan Regional Police Mobile Brigade). Province names are also usually abbreviated, so ***Sul**awesi **Ut**ara* (North Sulawesi) becomes *Sulut*, ***Sum**atera **Sel**atan* (South Sumatra) becomes *Sumsel*, ***Ja**wa **Tim**ur* (East Java) becomes *Jatim*. The greater Jakarta area has come to be generally referred to in official statements and the press as *Jabotabek*, a blend from the name Jakarta and the names of outer regions in the various directions: ***Ja**karta **Bo**gor **Ta**ngerang **Be**kasi*.

Sometimes abbreviations change. The Department of Education and Culture was long abbreviated to *Dep P & K*, for ***Dep**artemen **P**endidikan dan **K**ebudayaan*. In the 1980s, this changed, to meet the desire of a new minister, to the abbreviation *DepDikBud* for ***Dep**artemen Pendi**dik**an dan Ke**bud**ayan*, but later changed back, presumably because a subsequent minister preferred the earlier abbreviation.

In the Suharto era, the mass media were unable to explicitly refer to ethnic and religious conflicts or tensions, having to comment on any such occurrence, if at all, as an instance of *SARA,* an acronym for ***su**ku* (ethnic group), ***a**gama* (religion), ***ras*** (race) and ***a**ntargolongan* (inter-group matters). Every social and political development gives rise to new creations. The 1997 financial crisis and the subsequent political upheaval produced *krismon* for ***kris**is **mon**iter* (monetary crisis) and there was constant discussion of *sembako*, for 'the nine basic commodities' or ***sem**bilan **ba**han po**kok***. The initials *KKN*, for ***korup**si, **kol**usi dan **n**epotisme*, became so commonly used by commentators and the press from late 1998 onwards that it is doubtful if anyone was unaware of the meaning.

Many organisations have their own 'in-house' acronyms and word

blends, familiar only to people within the organisation. Thus universities have such forms as *pudek* for ***pembantu dekan*** (assistant dean), *menwa* for ***resimen mahasiswa*** (student regiment) and *OSPEK* for ***orientasi studi dan pengenalan kampus*** (study orientation and campus familiarisation — essentially a euphemism for initiation rites).

Indonesians are frequently amused or frustrated by the proliferation of such forms in the press and the difficulty in understanding them. Irreverent and facetious versions of some politically sensitive abbreviations regularly circulate. One joke making the rounds in the early 1990s was a play on *Supersemar*, referred to above. In reference to the business dealings of President Suharto and his cronies, it was given the meaning ***sudah persis seperti Marcos*** (It's already exactly like (under) Marcos), associating their activities to those of the disgraced Philippines president.[6] In mid-2000, on suggestions that President Abdurrahman Wahid should resign at the August meeting of the People's Consultative Assembly, wags referred to his nickname Gus Dur as meaning ***Agustus mundur*** (retire in August).

Preposterous acronyms and blends are regularly made up. The respected Jakarta daily *Kompas* some years ago reported a commentator criticising the excesses of abbreviations by coming up with *mas adam yang berdasi*, supposedly deriving from ***masyarakat adil makmur yang berdasar Pancasila*** (just and prosperous society based on Pancasila), but actually meaning 'older brother Adam who is wearing a tie'.[7] The same article complained that full forms are rarely given, so that often people do not know what the reduced form means, making the user sound like he is speaking Vietnamese. The view expressed in the article that 'culturally it is not a good development' would receive the full support of the language planners and most members of the public. Yet this seems to do nothing to discourage officials, the military and journalists from creating and using such forms; the same complaints over 40 years have had no apparent effect.

THE MASS MEDIA

The mainstream press, along with radio and television, have had a considerable influence on language usage in society, in addition to having been employed extensively by the Suharto government in its Development program. In 1964, there was a vigorous press, with more than 600 daily and weekly publications. Numbers declined with the establishment of the New Order, but this was followed by a boom in the 1980s. The length of newspapers also expanded, with the

introduction of international, regional and sports news, features and opinion sections and access to international sources for news. Sales of daily and weekly newspapers rose to a total of more than ten million copies by 1992. At that time, the prestigious Jakarta daily *Kompas* sold more than half a million copies per day, with an estimated three million readers.[8] With liberalisation following the fall of the Suharto government in the late 1990s, there was a huge leap in the number of newspapers and magazines. One source reported the appearance of 2000 new publications in 1999 alone, with the number of journalists leaping to 20 000 from 8000 just two years earlier.[9]

The language-planning and terminology authorities have recognised the importance of the mass media in the development and cultivation of the language and consequently of the importance of forging links with the media. They have called for every newspaper to have a language editor, to ensure that the organ is a model of good and effective language by implementing standard grammar and terminology. Nevertheless, while quality papers show an interest in maintaining standards, and sometimes contain columns on language matters, communications between them and the language planners have in general been weak.

Newspapers like *Kompas* and news magazines like *Tempo* are serious about the quality of their language, but have rarely taken note of terminology guides. Instead, they tend to create their own terms and make stylistic innovations when they feel the need and many of their creations enter general usage, irrespective of the wishes of the language planners. There is often a feeling among news people that products of the *Pusat Bahasa* are inappropriate or semantically unsound.[10] An example of this is the choice of *komputer* for 'computer', rather than the *Pusat Bahasa*'s proposal *apurwa*, a term derived from Sanskrit, which completely failed to gain acceptance. News people rarely have the time for elaborate language or for finding out what the terminology creators suggest for a particular English word or for a new concept. This has led to much 'spontaneous', rather than 'planned' borrowing,[11] not only among journalists but among the educated public, as seen in letters to the editor in newspapers. In particular, the press has played an enormous part in the entry of a great number of English terms and expressions into the language (see p. 177), much to the chagrin of the language planners. The planners, through their inability to have more than a minimal influence on the language of the press, have missed an excellent opportunity to foster public acceptance of 'good and correct language'.

New words can catch on with amazing speed if they find favour with the mass media. A rarely used word may suddenly appear repeatedly in newspapers, often for no apparent reason other than being 'discovered' by a journalist and picked up by others; often such words fade from view again shortly after. When President Suharto said in 1997 that he would 'thump' his opponents, using the word *menggebuk*, it was immediately picked up by journalists and thereafter was frequently used during the rest of Suharto's time in office. In the same year, he used the Javanese *lengser keprabon madeg pandita* (withdraw from the palace and become a sage), meaning that he would soon step down (*lengser*) to become an elder statesman. The word *lengser* immediately came into common use in the meaning 'step down from office'. Derived forms soon appeared; in 2000, newspapers were stating that President Abdurrahman Wahid should *lengser atau dilengserkan* (stand down or be stood down), using a newly coined transitive passive derivative, an instance of the readiness of Indonesians to seize on and play with new forms.

But along with some lively and colourful language in the press has come also a great deal of turgid and opaque language, imprecise and inappropriate vocabulary, infelicitous, often impenetrable structures, frequently from journalists who are themselves not particularly proficient in using the language. Alisjahbana is one who has criticised the press, as 'the strongest impediment to a stricter standardisation of the official language', saying that many editors 'still do not have a good command of the language, for they have not learned the language adequately in school'.[12]

With the constant appearance of new words in the press, particularly from English, and the excessive use of acronyms, there has been much criticism that the language of the press has become increasingly unintelligible to the majority of people. This can in part be attributed to the press's role in the New Order's development plans and the need for modernisation and intellectualisation of the language to cope with these needs, which has contributed to the shift of the formal language further away from its Classical Malay roots and from colloquial speech. Combined with this, the failure of general education in the country to provide the majority of the population with more than basic reading and writing skills has resulted in much of the press language being incomprehensible to them.

Rather than blaming the press for its failure to communicate effectively with the public, those who are not highly educated are inclined to blame the language itself as being too remote from the people. This

reinforces the negative perception of formal language and is partly responsible for the alienation of large sections of the population from what they see as elite language.

Journalists often blame others for the state of affairs. At a seminar in 1997, the Secretary General of the Indonesian Journalists' Union stated that journalists often act simply as 'tape recorders', quoting what is said by the news source, which is often a government official. If journalists are expected to follow the rules of grammar, officials should be educated to use correct Indonesian, he said. At the seminar, another journalist pointed out that high officials often used deviant language. Lower officials imitated them, the errors eventually spreading to other groups in the community. Another speaker gave the example of an official saying *rumah penduduk akan di-rehab* (people's houses will be renovated), using *rehab* — unintelligible to most people — rather than standard *diperbaiki* (repaired, renovated), and being quoted without explanation in the press. He said that newspapers should edit and change the structure to make it grammatical and thus stop *bahasa birokrasi* (bureaucratic language) infiltrating the press, although he acknowledged that there is little radio and television can do to filter out such forms.[13]

Partly as a reaction to the remoteness and obscurity of much mainstream press language, there have emerged since the 1980s a considerable number of popular magazines aimed specifically at the urban middle class. These include a variety of women's magazines, such as *Kartini* and *Mode*, magazines for teenage girls, such as *Gadis*, and magazines for men, such as *Matra*. Avoiding the excesses of the mainstream newspapers and news magazines, they are introducing an increasing acceptance of less formal language in print. In addition, there has been an increasing tendency on television from the early 1990s to use more colloquial speech in variety and chat shows, quiz games and so on. Entertainment and talk-back programs on some radio stations also are now almost wholly in colloquial speech. Such a shift could eventually lead to a breakdown in the diglossic gulf and produce a standardised form of the colloquial language. Despite this trend, there are still soapies and other 'popular' television shows that adhere to the old formula of having characters use stilted, formal language.

BORROWING FROM OTHER LANGUAGES

While some borrowing from other languages has been as a result of planning decisions, it is also true that a great many new forms have entered quite independently of planning processes, often in direct

opposition to the desires of the planners, being 'spontaneous' rather than 'planned' borrowings. The major influences in the 20th century, apart from English (discussed in Chapter 9), were from Javanese, Jakarta Malay, Sanskrit and Dutch. All four of these influences are among the factors that distinguish modern Indonesian from traditional Malay and from the standard form of Malay in Malaysia today.

Apart from borrowings from Javanese, there have been few influences on modern Indonesian from regional languages. Although people will employ many words from their regional language while speaking Indonesian within their region, these are unlikely to be accepted in the wider community; they will remain recognised largely by speakers of the language they come from and others who live in that region.

While Malaysian Malay has been strongly influenced by Indonesian, there has been very little Malaysian influence on Indonesian in the modern era. Nevertheless, some Malaysian words have recently come into common use, mainly through borrowing by the press, including *pakar* (expert), *kawasan* (region) and *menggalakkan* (encourage). Regional forms of Malay have contributed little to general Indonesian, although a few terms have become widely accepted. Thus Manado Malay has contributed *berfoya-foya* (enjoy oneself) and *baku* (reciprocal action), as in *baku hantam* (fighting/hitting each other).

Also contributing some elements to informal Jakartan Indonesian is the street argot *Prokem*, common among Jakarta's youth.[14] A few words, particularly *bokap* (father) and *nyokap* (mother), occur in the colloquial speech of young people, but show no signs of entering formal language.

JAKARTA MALAY AND INFORMAL JAKARTAN INDONESIAN

The one variety of regional Malay having a noticeable influence on Indonesian is Jakarta Malay. It has long had a significant influence on the colloquial Indonesian of Jakarta and via it is penetrating the rest of the language.

The Dutch made the town of Jayakarta their East Indies capital in 1619, renaming it Batavia. Its commercial activities grew quickly, with an influx of Chinese traders, merchants and other free settlers from Arabia, India and from various parts of the archipelago, especially Java, and slaves from Bali and India. Among the polyglot community Malay soon became the major lingua franca, first used among the diverse

Indonesian groups and then by others, as the main means of inter-group communication.

By the beginning of the 19th century, descendants of the various groups had merged with a new ethnic identity, the *anak Betawi* (children of Batavia), also known by other names, such as *orang Betawi asli* (original Batavians). The *anak Betawi* had their own distinct form of Malay, previously called Betawi Malay but since independence more commonly called Jakarta Malay. Betawi Malay was a koine of elements from various Malay dialects. It was also influenced strongly by Javanese, Sundanese and Balinese and absorbed many loan words from Portuguese creole and from Chinese. Elements absorbed from Javanese included many words and aspects of pronunciation, including replacement of the final-syllable /a/ by the mid-central vowel /ə/ in many words, such as *dalem* instead of *dalam* (inside). From Balinese Jakarta Malay took the transitive verb suffix *-in*, corresponding to the suffixes *-kan* and *-i* in formal Indonesian. From Hokkien Chinese it took *gua* (I), *elu* (you) and numerous other common words.

Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, the population of the city grew rapidly, mainly through immigration from the archipelago, especially of Sundanese and Javanese, but also by a considerable number of Chinese and people from other islands. As immigrants continued to be attracted to Jakarta, they took time to be absorbed into the *Betawi* community, if they were at all. The *Betawi* ethnic community was thus only a proportion of the total population. The 1930 census showed that the *anak Betawi* made up 53 per cent of the total population, with Sundanese speakers the second largest group, followed by Javanese speakers. After the Second World War, rapid immigration resulted in an ever-decreasing percentage of *anak Betawi*, dropping to 23 per cent in 1960 and to 15 per cent in 1976 in one estimate.[15] Another estimate is that by the early 1980s their number had dwindled to 5.5 per cent in urban areas, although with a considerable number of others in the outer reaches of Jakarta.[16]

Among the ever-increasing number of non-*Betawi* residents there developed a colloquial variety of the language, called Jakartan Indonesian in the modern era. This has become the everyday language of the great majority of Jakartans, including the elite and the relatively large educated middle class, among whom a homogeneous colloquial variety has developed.[17] Although different from Jakarta Malay, this general informal variety has been heavily influenced by it and the distinction between the two is not always recognised by outsiders. Jakarta

Malay (or Betawi Malay) is the vernacular within the ever-shrinking and fragmented *anak Betawi* communities, while Jakartan Indonesian is the everyday language of the metropolis. It has been shown that the *anak Betawi* switch from Jakarta Malay to Jakartan Indonesian when speaking to people from outside their communities, so that even most long-term residents of Jakarta rarely hear 'real' Jakarta Malay spoken.[18] Moreover, young people shift more permanently to Jakartan Indonesian 'when they rise socially or have aspirations in that direction'.[19]

The close contact between Jakarta Malay and colloquial Indonesian in the capital has led to significant absorption of elements from the former into the latter, including much that Jakarta Malay borrowed originally from Javanese, Balinese and Chinese. The colloquial Jakartan variety of Indonesian has been exerting a significant influence on formal Indonesian and other informal varieties of the language; via it influences of Jakarta Malay are felt on the formal standard language. As the capital city and the centre of government, intellectual life and wealth, Jakarta has long attracted people seeking their fortune. Jakarta is seen as progressive, rich and modern; everything about it is considered worthy of imitation, including its language. One writer gives some of the reasons for the influence of Jakartan Indonesian:

> The role of Jakarta as the capital city where the most powerful, the most wealthy and the most attractive people are thought to live has been important in popularising the language. In addition, the fact that Jakarta is the centre for the mass media (television, film, publishing) has contributed greatly to popularising the lifestyle and values of prestigious social groups — values which are conveyed in bahasa Indonesia, often the Jakarta dialect. Witness how young people from the regions who stay only briefly in Jakarta nevertheless immediately strive to adapt their bahasa Indonesia — changes which they carry with them when they return home.[20]

To speak like a Jakartan is to be like a Jakartan: up-to-date, prosperous and sophisticated, whatever the reality might be. The speech of Jakarta is particularly popular with the youth as a symbol of generational solidarity; using it sets them apart from the backward countryside and allows them to identify with the mystique of the modern metropolis. Increasingly, a common standard colloquial variety of Indonesian is being recognised as emerging, based on or the same as colloquial Jakartan Indonesian. One writer has stated:

> The use of Indonesian by educated people living in big towns such as Jakarta, Bandung, Medan, etc. has brought about the establishment of

> modern colloquial prestige Indonesian. The 'standard' variety of this colloquial Indonesian is undoubtedly connected with the speech prevalent in the capital.[21]

Since the 1990s, many variety and entertainment shows on television have been using this style almost entirely and it has come to be very common on talk-back programs on some radio stations. Journalists, television personalities and politicians use Jakartan terms for particular effect, to give a humorous, whimsical, intimate or even sarcastic tone to what they are saying. Dropped into formal speech or a television interview, it can be especially effective for achieving such an effect. During the Suharto era, it was regularly used in political cartoons in newspapers to comment on current events, one of the few opportunities in those times to express, however subtly, opposition to or frustration with government policy and injustice.

Elements of Jakartan are also increasingly appearing in areas earlier the preserve of formal style, in popular literature, popular songs and performing arts, and thereby putting pressure on the formal language.[22] Colloquialisms are now sometimes found in the formal print media where they are the words of the writer rather than someone being quoted, as in: *Dia juga doyan menyitir buku lain, seperti yang disusun oleh A G* ('He also likes to quote other books, like the one compiled by A G).[23] Here the colloquial *doyan* (like, be fond of) is used without italics instead of formal *suka*, something that would not have occurred until quite recently. This is part of a recent trend whereby use of informal words by journalists and other writers exposes readers to colloquialisms in contexts in which they would not previously have occurred. Combined with the use of colloquialisms on radio and television, this is inevitably leading to their gradual acceptance in more formal situations.

THE INFLUENCE OF JAVANESE

The Javanese are by far the largest ethnic-linguistic group in the Indonesian population and have always been the most prominent group in national political and cultural affairs. It is not surprising, then, that their language has had a significant influence on Indonesian. Javanese influence on Malay has had a long history, with contact between speakers of the two languages dating from at least the time of Srivijaya (see p. 36). Before the 20th century, this influence was almost entirely due to borrowing by Malay speakers, including the use of Javanese words during the writing of Malay versions of Javanese

literature. Many translated works are from the Hindu period in Java, before the 16th century, attesting to a long period of cultural influence.

Javanese influence increased enormously during the 20th century, mainly because increasing numbers of Javanese came to speak the language, continuing to use many Javanese words and constructions while doing so.[24] When Javanese use Javanese words while speaking Indonesian, it is not a case of borrowing but simply of using words that are acceptable and comfortable. In effect, a Javanese word is immediately acceptable to 40 per cent of the Indonesian population.[25] Through their use by Javanese, many such words and grammatical forms have become familiar to non-Javanese and have eventually become fully assimilated into the language, to the extent that Malaysians attending a conference in Indonesia in 1986 complained that 'too many Javanese terms were finding their way into the lexicon of the Indonesian language. This development was seen to constitute a barrier to further efforts on the part of Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei and the Malays in Singapore to develop a common Malay throughout the entire region'.[26]

Although it is usually not possible to date when a word became an assimilated borrowing, some words have certainly been in the language for a long time. Some early borrowings include:

agung	great
butuh	need
pangeran	prince
perahu	boat
rusak	damage

Javanese *ratu* (king) was borrowed with the same meaning but later changed to 'queen', occurring alongside Malay cognate *datuk* (chieftain).

Many Javanese words occur alongside Malay words, as partial synonyms in modern Indonesian, sometimes the Javanese form being favoured by Javanese while the Malay word is more commonly used among Sumatrans, particularly in regions of traditional Malay. Often, however, the Javanese word has become the preferred form among all ethnic groups. Examples include:

bisa	can (occurring alongside Malay *dapat*)
pintar	clever (alongside Malay *pandai*)
sapi	cow (alongside Malay *lembu*)
sore	evening (alongside Malay *petang*)

Sometimes the Javanese word has a restricted meaning in Indonesian, as with *pesisir*, meaning 'coastal area, shore', alongside Malay *pantai* (beach) and *kali*, mainly meaning 'canal', alongside Malay *sungai* (river). Javanese *desa* (originally from Sanskrit) has replaced Malay *kampung* in the meaning 'rural village', *kampung* coming to refer only to a poorer urban neighbourhood.

More recent borrowings include:

baku	standard
gotong royong	mutual support
olahraga	sport
pria	(originally from Sanskrit), a more formal alternative to *laki-laki* (man, male)
tanpa	without
tinja	as a polite form for Malay *tahi* (faeces)

Many words associated with cooking and foodstuffs have entered from Javanese, including:

bumbu	spices
gado-gado	mixed vegetable dish
gudek	dish made of jackfruit
pecel, pecal	vegetable dish with peanut sauce
rujak	kind of salad
tempe	soybean cake
terasi	shrimp paste

Numerous words associated with the *wayang* shadow plays have been borrowed, including *gamelan* (orchestra which accompanies *wayang* performances) and the word *wayang* itself, which is cognate with Malay *bayang* (shadow). Most of these words have developed extended meanings in Indonesian and are not restricted to the context of the *wayang*, such as *lakon* (play, story), *adegan* (episode, scene) and *dalang* (narrator and puppeteer), which now has the extended meaning of 'manipulator, power behind the screen'. The word *gara-gara*, meaning 'commotion', comes from the word for a *wayang* scene of turbulence or war. Through use in expressions like *ini gara-garamu* (this is the trouble you've caused) it has come to mean 'just because', although in this sense it is mainly journalistic and is probably still regarded as non-standard by many people.

The names for administrators and administrative districts through most of Indonesia are taken from Javanese; for example, *bupati* (administrator of a major division within a province), *camat*

(administrator of a smaller division) and *lurah* (village head).

In the modern press, Javanese words, italicised if they are felt to be unassimilated, are frequently used to achieve some particular effect. Often the use of these words adds an informal tone and some, while widely used, are still felt to be non-standard, or at least distinctly Javanese, by most people. For instance, *bocah* (young child) is used instead of *anak* — Javanese distinguishes *bocak* (child, young person) from *anak* (child, offspring), although there is no sign that the distinction is felt to be necessary by non-Javanese. Other examples include *cilik* for *kecil* (young, little), *ngotot*, based on *otot* (muscle), also borrowed from Javanese, instead of *bersikeras* (persist, be obstinate) and *kangen* instead of *rindu* (long for). It is probable that in many cases Javanese journalists are unaware that a particular word is not Indonesian, but also frequently they choose Javanese words because they do not know an Indonesian equivalent.

A number of interjections and discourse particles from Javanese are now common in colloquial speech through use by Javanese, such as the expressions of surprise *kok* and *lho*.

Javanese has influenced Indonesian phonology in numerous ways, including the introduction of the mid-central schwa vowel in final closed syllables. Malay words with /a/ in the final closed syllable often have cognates in Javanese with the schwa vowel /ə/. Javanese tend to pronounce such words with /ə/ in Indonesian; for instance, saying *dalem* for traditional Malay *dalam* (inside) and *asem* instead of *asam* (sour). Earlier borrowings from Javanese tended to be pronounced with /a/ by non-Javanese speakers, as in *pecal* from Javanese *pecel* (kind of salad with peanut sauce). However, /ə/ is now common among many non-Javanese, although this is not necessarily the case in traditional Malay-speaking areas. In more recent borrowings from Javanese, the mid-central schwa vowel appears to have been immediately accepted and a form with /a/ does not occur, as with *pilek* (have a cold), *sumber* (source) and *kangen* (long for). The use of the verbal suffix *-ken* instead of the Malay *-kan* by many Javanese is strongly condemned by language purists (see p. 139).

Javanese, along with Dutch, has introduced many consonant clusters to Indonesian, including clusters of three consonants, such as *njl* in *anjlok* (plummet), *mbr* in *ambruk* (collapse) and *mbl* in *gamblang* (clear; blatant).

Javanese has influenced modern Indonesian grammar in various ways and this influence is increasing in some cases. The tendency is for these forms to be used by Javanese in colloquial speech and for this to

be adopted subsequently by others. Such influences are still largely seen as colloquial, although some of them are gradually penetrating more formal speech and writing.

The Javanese prefix *ke-* corresponds in one of its uses to the Malay *ter-*, indicating involuntary action, and is often used instead of *ter-* in this sense. Thus *ketawa* will appear for *tertawa* (laugh) and *ketipu* for *tertipu* (tricked). Use of *ke-* is still colloquial and is loudly condemned by purists, although it is beginning to appear in the mainstream press in a few words.

In Malay, the affixation *ke-…-an* occurred in a fairly restricted set of adversative verbs, such as *kemalaman* (overtaken by night) and *kehilangan* (lose something). Under the influence of Javanese, this set of verbs has been greatly increased in the usage of some people, with forms like *kebongkaran* (be burgled) and *kebanjiran* (be flooded) becoming generally accepted. Among Javanese, this affixation is used alongside or instead of *ter-* in numerous words, such as *ketimbunan* instead of *tertimbun* (be buried under something) and *kecemaran* instead of *tercemar* (be polluted). With some adjectives in Javanese, the affixation can indicate excess. This usage is now common in colloquial Indonesian, such as *kebesaran* (too big) and *kegemukan* (too fat). While such forms are still classified as non-standard and not acceptable to everyone, their use is spreading and may become standard in the future.

In Javanese, a genitive noun is preceded by *-e* (*-ne* after vowels), attached to the head noun, as in *omahe Abu* (Abu's house — *omah* 'house'). Javanese frequently use the corresponding Indonesian *-nya* in such constructions, thus *rumahnya Abu* instead of *rumah Abu* (Abu's house). In most of its occurrences, this construction is avoided and even condemned by some non-Javanese. Excessive use is one of the characteristics of *bahasa pejabat* (see p. 139). It has, however, found increasing acceptance in standard speech, particularly in cases where it acts to clarify meaning. Thus, while *ibu Abu* could mean 'Mrs Abu' or 'Abu's mother', the use of *-nya* makes the construction specifically possessive; *ibunya Abu* can only mean 'Abu's mother'.

THE INFLUENCE OF DUTCH

Although the Dutch first appeared in the archipelago at the beginning of the 17th century, their language did not begin to have a noticeable influence until much later. In the Moluccas and in Batavia, attempts by the Dutch to use their language in church services, in schools and in administration had little success. After a brief attempt in the Moluccas,

Dutch was replaced by Malay in school teaching and in religious services; in Batavia it was replaced by Portuguese and Malay.

The English grammarian William Marsden noted in 1812 that 'several Dutch terms' had been adopted into Malay[27], presumably as indication of very limited penetration at that time. Dutch did not begin to have a significant influence on Malay until the beginning of the 20th century, when children of the Indonesian gentry began entering European schools and Dutch was also introduced as a subject at training colleges for native teachers and pubic servants. With growing demand among the Indonesian elite for Dutch education and limited places available for them in European schools, Dutch-language native schools were established in 1914. With improving means of long-distance travel, a greater number of Europeans began to enter Indonesia, resulting in greater Western influence on society. This led to further demand for Dutch language among the small Indonesian elite, among whom knowledge of the language was becoming the mark of status, particularly as the opportunity for Dutch education was largely confined to the higher class. Proficiency in Dutch also opened the door to well-paid jobs in commerce and administration, and command of Dutch was the gateway to European culture.[28] By 1930, about 230 000 Indonesians spoke Dutch, increasing to about 400 000 with command of the language in 1941, although this was less than 1 per cent of the total Indies population.[29]

There thus emerged a sizeable bilingual population among the educated leaders of pre-war indigenous society. For many of them, Dutch was their preferred language and, when speaking Indonesian, the use of Dutch words was a symbol of prestige and social status. Use of Dutch words was also a necessity for many topics, there being no suitable Malay words for discussing politics, economics and science.

Before 1942, many Dutch words entered the language spontaneously, without deliberate selection, through such bilingualism. From the beginning of formal language planning, with the *Komisi Bahasa* in 1942, a number of Dutch words also entered through the language-planning process. After independence, Dutch remained the major source for scientific and technical terms under the Terminology Commission until 1966, although most of the terms selected were not taken up by the population in general. Many more words entered spontaneously in various domains of everyday life, because they were used by the educated elite in their spoken and written Indonesian and were spread by the press.

After independence, Dutch was no longer a medium of instruction in education and there was pride among Indonesians in having their own national language. Nevertheless, the use of Dutch among the educated continued and retained a prestige status. In the 1960s, there was still a substantial population of proficient speakers of the language; a study of Indonesian students in the USA, carried out in 1962, found that 20 of the group of 26 had at least some facility in Dutch.[30] One writer stated in 1979 that 'the Dutch-educated generation is dead, dying or about to be pensioned off'.[31] Despite such exaggerated claims, even at the beginning of the 21st century there was a surprising number of educated people in the older age group, those who had had a Dutch education up to 1949 or had had the opportunity of tertiary study in the Netherlands in the 1950s, who were fluent in the language.

Nevertheless, by the late 1950s educated Indonesians were beginning to turn to English. By the mid-1960s, Dutch influence on Indonesian was drawing to a close as the influence of English began to grow rapidly (as discussed in Chapter 9).

Among early borrowings from Dutch were *kantor* (office), *kamar* (room), and *buku* (book). As Dutch customs were introduced, Dutch words were frequently employed. For instance, Dutch influence on cooking and eating habits resulted in such items as:

buncis	beans
kol	cabbage
kompor	stove
poding	pudding
sosis	sausage
wortel	carrot

Items of clothing include:

helm	helmet
hem	shirt
kerah	collar (Dutch *kraag*)
piama	pyjamas
ritsleting	zipper
rok	skirt
selop	slipper (Dutch *slof*)

The Indonesian legal system is based on that of the Netherlands and many legal terms are Dutch, such as:

advokat	lawyer

kasasi	overturning of judgment
kasus	case
pleidoi	defence
vonis	sentence
yuris	law graduate

In other areas of modern life introduced by the Dutch, such as medicine and education, there has also been significant borrowing. In technical areas also, many terms are Dutch, including electrical terms such as:

listrik	electricity
per	light bulb
steker	electrical plug
stop kontak	socket
strom	current

A great many words to do with motor vehicles are Dutch, including:

bensin	petrol
klakson	horn
kopling	clutch
oli	lubricating oil
persneling, versneling	gear
rem	brake

In many spheres of everyday life, Dutch has intruded. The common words for 'uncle' and 'aunt' were largely replaced by *om* (Dutch *oom*) and *tante*, particularly as terms of address. Among a great many everyday words are:

antre	queue (Dutch *aantreden* 'line up')
asbak	ashtray
gelas	(drinking) glass
handuk	towel
pamili, famili	relatives, (extended) family
restoran	restaurant
setrika	iron
televisi	television

The names of the months, *Januari*, *Februari* and so on, are all from Dutch.

Earlier borrowings tended to be modified to fit with Malay phonology and syllable structure. Thus Dutch *f* and *v* were replaced by

p: *fabriek* became *pabrik* (factory) and *koffer* became *kopor, koper* (box, suitcase). The Dutch sound spelt *u* or *uu* is a high front rounded vowel that does not exist in Indonesian and borrowings with this sound generally omitted the lip rounding, leaving *i*, as in *bis* (bus — Dutch *bus*) and *setir* (steering wheel — Dutch *stuur*).

In traditional Malay there were few consonant clusters, these comprising word-medial nasal-stop clusters like *mp*, *nt*, *ngk*, and *r* plus another consonant, such as in *pernah* (ever). While borrowing from Javanese introduced numerous consonant clusters, Dutch also contributed to their acceptance, introducing initial clusters, as in *stabil* (stable) and *skripsi* (thesis), and medial clusters as in *pabrik* (factory) and *doktrin* (doctrine). Medial clusters of even four consonants have been introduced, as in *eksplorasi* (exploration).

In early borrowings, final clusters were removed, either by the addition of a vowel, as in *lampu* (lamp) and *pompa* (pump), or dropping of the final consonant, as in *pos* (post) and *ban* (tyre — Dutch *band*). Complex clusters could be removed by both adding a vowel and dropping the final consonant, as in *dinas* (service — Dutch *dienst*). Clusters later became acceptable, especially in the pronunciation of those fluent in Dutch, with words such as *pers* (press) and *helm* (helmet) entering the language. Much inconsistency occurs in acceptance of features of Dutch phonology, as it does in spontaneous borrowing from other languages. Thus the final *rs* is retained in *kurs* (currency rate — Dutch *koers*), but avoided by the addition of a vowel in *bursa* (stock exchange — Dutch *beurs*).

In traditional Malay, the mid-central schwa vowel could not appear in word-final syllables, whether open or closed by a consonant. While the schwa vowel entered in closed syllables under the influence of Javanese and Jakarta Malay, its acceptability was strengthened by borrowings from Dutch, such as *liter* (litre) and *wortel* (carrot). Moreover, borrowings from Dutch introduced word-final schwa, as in the suffix *-isme*, and various common words, like *tante* (aunt), *orde* (order, regime) and *kode* (code). Alisjahbana pleaded against this, strongly disagreeing with the change to the traditional Malay phonological system, and insisting on writing *a* instead of *e* in final syllables, such as *koda*, *nasionalisma*.[32] In this he was unsuccessful; the change has become entirely accepted in the standard language.

Traditional Malay had a pattern of vowel harmony whereby, among other things, a high vowel (*i*, *u*) could not occur in a final syllable if a mid-vowel (*e*, *o*) occurred in the preceding syllable and a mid-vowel

could not occur in the final syllable if there was a high vowel in the second last syllable.[33] This system has disappeared in the modern language, partly as a result of borrowing from Dutch, with words like *vonis* (punish) and *tenis* (tennis) breaking the rule.

With the increase in bilingualism, educated Indonesians tended to retain more features of Dutch phonology. In more recent borrowings, *f* is retained, rather than being replaced by *p*, as in *fraksi* (faction — in a political party or in parliament). The Dutch *v* is replaced by *f* rather than *p* (although the letter *v* is retained in writing), as in *veto* (veto). Some borrowings, earlier pronounced and spelt with *p*, have now replaced this by *f*, with *f* or *v* retained in spelling, as in the Dutch. Thus earlier *Nopember* (November) was replaced by *November*. Uneducated speakers are still likely to use *p* instead of *f* in these words.

In borrowings of scientific words with initial *ps*, the spelling of the original is retained, although the *p* is not pronounced; for example, *psikologi* (psychology) and *psikiater* (psychiatrist).

One-syllable words did not occur in traditional Malay, apart from a few function words like *dan* (and) and *ke* (to). Early borrowings sometimes added a final vowel, such as *buku* (book). However, a considerable number of common Dutch words of one syllable were later accepted into the language, such as *pet* (cap), *lap* (cleaning cloth) and *got* (gutter, drain).

In borrowing from Dutch, the tendency has been to follow the pronunciation of the original where possible and to modify spelling of the word accordingly, as in numerous examples already given. In some cases, the spelling change to reflect pronunciation is more drastic. This is particularly common where the Dutch word is itself a borrowing from French, Dutch having retained French spelling, as in *kudeta* (coup d'état — Dutch *coup d'etat*), *kado* (gift — Dutch *cadeau*) and *koran* (newspaper — Dutch *courant*).

A study of borrowings into Indonesian from European languages published in 1983 identified 6100 borrowings, apparently confined to items accepted into Standard Indonesian and entering the language by the late 1970s, as identified in dictionaries and *Pusat Bahasa* publications.[34] Of these, 5400 are claimed to be from Dutch and only 670 from English. The number of Dutch words is impressive, although many of them are restricted to use by small numbers of educated people or occur only in specialist registers. While the number of Dutch words in the list is significantly greater than the number of English loans, the compilers have tended to treat almost

all words that occur in both Dutch and English as being from Dutch. However, since many of these were not common in the press by the late 1960s, it is more likely that English was the source for many of them. For many words there is almost certainly borrowing by people familiar with Dutch from that language and by others, usually younger, of the same item from English. By the mid-1960s, Dutch had almost entirely been replaced by English as a source of innovations in the language. The 1983 wordlist thus could well be regarded as a definitive listing of Dutch borrowings; borrowing from Dutch was by then a thing of the past. On the other hand, the influence of English was really only beginning in the 1960s and has been accelerating since then.

The 1983 study did not take into consideration Dutch borrowings into other than Standard Indonesian. In those regional varieties of Malay where a significant proportion of the population had long had access to Dutch education, many Dutch words occur in everyday speech that are unknown in the standard language. As one example, Manado Malay has many Dutch words in common use, such as:[35]

fakansi	holiday (Dutch *vakantie*)
fals	dishonest (Dutch *vals*)
forek	fork (Dutch *vork*)
ram	window (Dutch *raam*)

Besides contributing numerous words directly to the language, Dutch has also been the source of many loan translations, Indonesian phrases created on the basis of Dutch models. These include:

kerja sama	co-operate (Dutch *samenwerking*)
luar negeri	overseas (literally 'outside the country' — Dutch *buitenland*)
mengambil alih	take over (Dutch *overnemen*)
rumah sakit	hospital (literally 'sick house' — Dutch *ziekenhuis*)

A number of new suffixes have entered the language through borrowing from Dutch. When words containing affixes (which are called prefixes if they precede the base and suffixes if they follow the base) are first borrowed, they are usually taken over as single meaningful units in the recipient language. Frequently, Indonesian borrowed two or more related forms from Dutch, such as *aktif* (active) and *aktivis* (activist), *popular* (popular) and *popularitas* (popularity).

While Indonesians using such words are aware of their similarities in form and meaning, it is not always possible to identify a base form for members of such sets nor to identify particular parts as affixes.

When, however, a beginning or ending of a word comes to be used with a variety of different forms that can stand alone, it takes on the status of a prefix or suffix. This has happened with a number of Dutch affixes, including *-isme*, borrowed as a part of words like *nasionalisme* (nationalism). This has now become an assimilated Indonesian suffix because it can be applied to new bases, as in *sukuisme* (tribalism — *suku* 'tribe, ethnic group'). The Dutch noun-forming endings *-atie*, pronounced 'atsi', and *-isatie* were retained as *-(is)asi* in numerous borrowings, such as *nasionalisasi* (nationalisation).[36] This has become a particularly 'successful' suffix, replacing the Dutch *-(iser)ing* in words like *modernisasi* (modernisation — Dutch *modernisering*) and later replacing the English ending '-ation' in words like *ekstensifikasi* (extensification), as discussed in Chapter 9. The Dutch adjective-forming ending *-isch* was retained in borrowings as *-is*, as in *dinamis* (dynamic) and *dramatis* (dramatic). A number of words were borrowed with the Dutch suffix *-teit*, but these were later replaced by their original Latin forms with the suffix *-tas*, such as *universitas* (university — Dutch *universiteit*) and *kualitas* (quality — Dutch *kwaliteit*).

As already mentioned, Dutch has also played an enormous role in the development of syntax in the formal language, through the influence of educated bilinguals. In writing, this includes the development of more complex sentence structure and paragraph organisation. It also resulted in a significant shift from passive to active constructions. This trend continued under the influence of English and is discussed in Chapter 9.

THE INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON THE MODERN LANGUAGE

Another phenomenon in the development of modern Indonesian has been the use of Sanskrit words and phrases. These do not come directly from Sanskrit, the major source being Old Javanese. Between the 10th and 15th centuries, there was a prolific literature in Old Javanese, also called Kawi. Heavily influenced by Indian literature, the scholars of the Hindu-Javanese period laced their works with Sanskrit forms, much as did the scribes of Srivijaya. It is from such preserved literature that most of the new borrowings now referred to as Sanskrit originate. In some cases, such words are hybrids drawn from Sanskrit and Kawi to form

new words that did not exist in those languages, much as the word 'television' is composed of the elements 'tele-', from the Greek word for 'far', and 'vision', from the Latin word for 'sight', producing a word in English unknown to speakers of Latin or Ancient Greek.

One group that has provided many new terms based on Sanskrit are those previously known as the 'solidarity makers', the military and political leaders, who attempted to promote feelings of nationalism among the population.[37] For such people, Sanskrit terms have been particularly prestigious. They hark back to the glorious days of great Hindu-Javanese kingdoms, particularly Majapahit, and powerful kings such as Airlangga and Hayam Wuruk. Terms suggestive of power and legitimacy have been much exploited by the military, such as *perwira* (officer — Sanskrit *pravīra* 'hero') and *purnawirawan* (retired; veteran — Sanskrit *purna* 'complete' and *vīryavān* 'warrior'), in place of the mundane alternatives *opsir* (Dutch *officier*) and *pensiunan* (pensioner — Dutch *pensioen* with Indonesian suffix *-an*).

Sanskrit has been used much as Latin sometimes was in Europe. It has a magical quality for many people, who see it as reinforcing the power and legitimacy of the state, being controlled as it is by powerful people with esoteric knowledge. During the Sukarno and Suharto eras, it was manipulated by political leaders to promote feelings of nationalism among the population. One commentator has written of these words:

> All of them tend to be used most on occasions of high ceremonial importance, and to be applied to objects and institutions of the highest political prestige. While almost none of these words are understood fully in their original sense, the fact that they are of Sanskritic or Old Javanese origin is well understood, and therefore the modern institutions are seen as inheriting the prestige and majesty of the originals.[38]

Created forms for national institutions include the national philosophy *Pancasila* (The Five Principles) and the national motto *Bhinekka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity). Many forms included Sanskrit numbers, such as *panca* (five), as in *Pancasila*, *dwi* (two) as in *dwiwarna* (two colours), for the Indonesian red and white flag, and *dwifungsi* (two functions — a hybrid of Sanskrit and Dutch), for the dual role of the military in defence and politics. Other examples include *tri* (three), as in *tridarma* (the three duties), for the responsibilities of institutes of higher education, and *sapta* (seven), as in *sapta marga* (the seven ways), for the seven principles that the armed forces must obey.

Awards for meritorious service have grandiose Sanskritic names,

such as *Satyalancana Karya Satya* (*satya* 'loyal, faithful', *lancana* 'badge', *karya* 'work'), a medal for long distinguished public service, *Mahaputra Adipradana* (*mahaputra* 'great son', *adi* 'superior', *pradana* 'first'), the highest order for distinguished service to the nation, and *Bintang Yudha Dharma* (*bintang* Malay 'star, medal', *yudha* 'war', *dharma* 'service'), war service medal. The use of pseudo-Sanskrit in such honours gives an illusion of long tradition, thereby providing legitimacy to new creations.

After the occupation of Dutch New Guinea, the capital Hollandia was eventually renamed *Jayapura*, Sanskrit for 'Victory City', the use of Sanskrit linked to the need to legitimise the takeover.

Many Indonesians, particularly Javanese, have Sanskrit-based names. Suharto, whose Sanskrit-derived name means 'good possessions', named his son Hutomo Mandala Putra (better known as Tommy Suharto). At the time, Suharto was commander of the Mandala army unit. The name that he gave his son derives from *hutomo*, the Javanised form of Sanskrit *utama* (principal, eminent), *mandala* (circle), the name of the army unit (significantly given a Sanskrit name, being another instance of the choice of a powerful Sanskrit word), and *putra*, meaning 'prince' in Sanskrit, but being an honorific term for 'son' in Indonesian. Thus the name means 'Son of the Leader of Mandala'. President Sukarno gave his Japanese bride the 'Indonesian' name *Dewi Ratna Sari*, which consists of three Sanskrit words, meaning 'goddess', 'jewel' and 'essence' respectively. Names from the Hindu epics, the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, are well known to Indonesians. Technology Minister Habibie, in the last days of the Suharto government, had plans for a new Indonesian aircraft to be called *Gatotkaca*, after a powerful flying figure in the *Mahabharata*. When the Indonesian women's archery team won a silver medal at the Seoul Olympics in 1988, they were widely proclaimed as the *Tiga Srikandi* (the Three Srikandis), after a woman archer in the *Mahabharata*.

Other institutions exploit Sanskrit in the same way. The Catholic Church frequently uses it instead of Latin, as in the names of the Catholic universities *Atma Jaya* (Victorious Spirit) and *Sanata Dharma* (Genuine Good Deeds). A prominent Protestant university also has a Sanskrit name, *Satya Wacana* (Faithful to the Word).

Private businesses very often choose Sanskrit names; *Hotel Kartika Candra* means nothing more than 'Star Moon Hotel', but the euphonious flow of sounds combined with the mystique of Sanskrit gives it a special prestige. Even lowly leather goods or bicycle shops can have

Sanskrit names, like *Surya Jaya* (Victorious Sun) or *Mitra Setia* (Loyal Friend). Sometimes Sanskrit and Malay words are combined in names, the Sanskrit element here also adding to the aura of superiority, such as *Gunung Mulia* (Noble Mountain) for a book shop or *Cahaya Baru* (New Light) for a tailor.

There are other reasons for the use of such pseudo-Sanskrit forms. As an alternative to borrowings from European languages, they have considerable attraction. While many sound grandiose, they do not have a foreign flavour, Sanskrit phonology having been modified to the needs of Javanese, and they thus often have a native 'feel' about them, especially to Javanese. Sanskrit-based words are felt to be refined and polite, and so are popular as euphemisms for more blunt native words, such as *payudara* (female breasts) for Malay *buah dada* (literally 'fruit of the breast'), and *pidana* (crime) for Malay *kejahatan*, which also means 'evil'. A number of euphemisms occur with the prefixed component *tuna-* (lacking), from Sanskrit *tunna-* (struck, hurt, cut). In borrowings into Old Javanese, this word had developed the meaning 'lacking, being short of', which it retains in modern Indonesian, as in *tunanetra* (without sight — *netra* Sanskrit 'eye') instead of *buta* (blind), *tunawisma* (without house — Sanskrit *vesma* 'house, building') instead of *gelandangan* (vagrant, homeless) and *tunakarya* (without work — Sanskrit *karya* 'work') for *penganggur* (unemployed). Such terms are rarely used in everyday speech, but do appear in politer formal language.

Tuna- is an example of a new affix entering the language through modern borrowing from Sanskrit. Among others are *antar-*, *swa-*, *pra-*, and *pasca-*.[39] While some of these appear in a few older borrowings, mainly of whole words, it is only since independence that they have become common and can be recognised as prefixes. *Antar-* (inter-) occurs in words like *antarpulau* (inter-island), *antarbenua* (intercontinental) and *antargolongan* (inter-group). These words have probably been created under influence of English terms with the prefix 'inter-' (which was borrowed into English from Latin and is cognate with the Sanskrit form). *Swa-*, from the Sanskrit *sva* (self), occurs in a few older forms but is mainly found in recent introductions, such as *swasembada* (self-sufficient), *swadaya* (self-help) and *swalayan* (self-service). *Pra-*, Sanskrit for 'pre-', occurs in such forms as *prasejarah* (prehistory — *sejarah* 'history' from Arabic), *prasangka* (prejudice — *sangka* 'think, suppose' from Sanskrit), *prakata* (foreword — *kata* 'word' being an old borrowing of Sanskrit *kathā* 'word, speech') and *prasekolah* (preschool — *sekolah* from Portuguese). The prefix *pasca-* was introduced quite

recently in the meaning 'post-' and has become rather productive in the modern language, as in *pascasarjana* (postgraduate — *sarjana* 'scholar' from Sanskrit), *pasca-pemilu* (post-election — *pemilu* being an abbreviation for *pemilihan umum* 'general election') and *pasca-jajak pendapat* (post-referendum — first used in reference to strife following the 1999 referendum in East Timor).

One modern coinage with the prefix *pra-* offers an interesting illustration of how obscure the meanings of these forms are to most people. The word *pramugari* was coined for 'airline stewardess'. There are different accounts of the origin of *mugari*, but it was apparently an Old Javanese word meaning something like 'managing affairs'. The word is popularly reanalysed as consisting of *pramu*, meaning something like 'one who serves' and *gari*, which seems not to be assigned any meaning. As a result of this false analysis, other terms have been coined with a component *pramu*, such as *pramuniaga* (shop assistant — *niaga* 'trade' from Sanskrit) and *pramuwisma* (servant — *wisma* 'building, house' from Sanskrit), although only the original *pramugari* is in common use in everyday speech, the others being euphemisms.

The Sanskrit suffix *-van* (having, possessing), was earlier borrowed as part of certain words, such as *rupawan* (handsome — Sanskrit *rūpa* 'form, shape') and *hartawan* (wealthy — Sanskrit *artha* 'wealth, property'). In the modern language, its use has been greatly extended, coming to be thought of as meaning someone who practises a particular activity, as in:

dramawan	dramatist
ilmuwan	scientist (*ilmu* 'science' from Arabic *ilm*)
olahragawan	sportsman (*olahraga* 'sport')
usahawan	businessman (*usaha* 'business, enterprise' from Sanskrit)
wartawan	reporter (*warta* 'news' from Sanskrit)

As these examples show, the suffix is not confined to combining with borrowings from Sanskrit. For these words there are corresponding female forms with *-wati*, such as *olahragawati* (sportswoman) and *wartawati* (female journalist), although forms with *-wan* can cover both male and female.

While many of these neo-Sanskrit forms have been chosen for concepts in cultural areas, borrowings for science and technology are almost always taken from European languages (apart from early borrowings that sometimes came from Arabic). In some cases, however,

neo-Sanskrit forms do occur, especially where a native term may sound too mundane and 'unscientific'. Thus, instead of everyday *matahari* (sun), the Sanskrit word *surya* has been chosen for scientific communication, along with derivatives like *tata surya* (solar system — *tata* 'order, arrangement' from Sanskrit). The Sanskrit derivative *angkasa* (sky, heaven) is used in preference to the native *langit* in scientific contexts, such as in *angkasa luar* (outer space — *luar* 'outside') and *angkasawan* (astronaut).

Not all proposed borrowings from Sanskrit have found favour. As mentioned, some are refined euphemisms not used in everyday speech. *Pariwisata* (tourism) occurs only in official language, *turisme* being the everyday word. Some forms devised by planners were not accepted at all. A number of forms with the prefix *nir-*, from the Sanskrit for 'without, free from', such as *nirleka* (prehistory — Sanskrit *lekha* 'writing'), were coined by the Terminology Commission, but were not accepted by the public. The base *pirsa*, from the Sanskrit original from which *periksa* (examine) also comes, occurs in *pirsawan* (with *-wan* from Sanskrit) and *pemirsa* (with the Malay prefix *pe-* 'one who does the action'). These words were coined for 'television viewer'; however, although heard, they are not really able to compete with the Malay *penonton* (viewer, spectator). Likewise, the borrowing *wahana* could not compete against the Malay *kendaraan* in the meaning 'vehicle'.

By the 20th century, direct Indian influence was long past, with Sanskrit playing no part in the life of the people of Indonesia, except in Bali. Therefore, modern borrowings from Sanskrit have been deliberate choices, sometimes by language planners but much more frequently by others familiar with or having access to Kawi sources. This is unlike the case of borrowing from English since the mid-1960s, which has largely been spontaneous, not a result of deliberate choice but by the often casual use of English words by people directly familiar with the language.

9

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH

THE STATUS LANGUAGE

Sociolinguists have long pointed out that people who want to exhibit their familiarity with foreign cultures, especially so-called prestigious cultures, tend to borrow from the languages spoken in those cultures as proud evidence of such familiarity. In the 1950s, emphasis was shifting from Dutch to English among educated Indonesians so that, carrying out a study in the early 1960s, a sociolinguist was able to write:

> The position of Dutch has changed drastically. Its former official functions are now filled by Indonesian; its previous educational uses are now largely filled by Indonesian plus English. English has almost completely replaced it in its prior function of relating Indonesia to the rest of the world in politics and business, as has Indonesian in inter-ethnic communication.[1]

English influence is not entirely a recent phenomenon in Indonesia. A few borrowings date from the British period under Raffles (1811–16), such as *dokar* (horse-drawn buggy) from English 'dog-cart'. In Bengkulu (Bencoolen), in southeast Sumatra, a number of common words still survive from the period when it was a British colony (1684–1824), including:

belangkit	blanket
duaro	door
kabad	cupboard
stakin	stocking[2]

From 1918 until the Japanese takeover, English was taught in Dutch-language secondary schools for non-Europeans, but there seem to have been very few borrowings during that period. The overwhelming majority of words from English have been borrowed since independence, especially since 1966. The position of English as a world language, study by many of the elite in English-speaking countries, opportunities to travel abroad, the availability of English-language publications, films and television shows, and the occurrence of borrowings from English in many other languages have all contributed to its influence on Indonesian. Many terms entering Indonesian from English are part of a global vocabulary, occurring in many languages in domains of modern life.[3]

From the time of independence, the USA has had tremendous economic influence on Indonesia. In the early period of independence, it also sent large numbers of advisors and consultants from a wide range of disciplines and trained hundreds of Indonesian scholars and government officials in American universities. Between 1956 and 1964, from just two major universities, the University of Indonesia and the Bandung Institute of Technology, more than 750 staff members studied in American colleges and universities under US aid programs.[4] The number of Indonesians studying in English-speaking countries rose rapidly; in 1966, there were 2100, rising to 4000 in 1972, the largest number in the USA, followed by Australia, with smaller numbers in the United Kingdom, Canada and New Zealand.[5] Numbers continued to rise; by the 1990s, there were more than 17 000 Indonesian students studying in Australia alone. From the beginning of Suharto's New Order regime in 1966, the Indonesian elite had increased opportunities to travel overseas, participate in international trade and diplomatic negotiations, attend international conferences and scientific meetings, and so on, as well as meeting increasing numbers of visitors from other countries.

A study compiled using official sources up to the late 1970s (see p. 165) recognised only 670 English words as borrowings. However, this ignores the large number of words regularly appearing at that time in the press and being used by educated people. In fact, by the late 1970s, English words were pouring into the language, leading one commentator, writing in 1977, to refer to the 'trend towards Indo-Saxonisation'. He identified 'the appeal of English as an international language … The predominance of this language in the global communication system … The dominance of American technology and the role

of its multinational corporations in the world's trade' as important factors.[6] Numbers of global words — words appearing in many languages — were originally used in Indonesian by educated speakers fluent in Dutch (which often took them from English), and thus were borrowed from that source. Later, other (younger) people, familiar with English, independently borrowed the same items from that language. In such cases, it is constant reinforcement through familiarity with English that has resulted in these words becoming fully assimilated. As one example, many soccer terms came from Dutch, which had taken them from English, such as *kiper* (keeper) and *suporter* (supporter).

A number of words borrowed from Dutch were later replaced wholly or partially by related, though slightly different, English words or are now under strong competition from them. Thus earlier borrowings like *moril* (Dutch *moreel*) and *universil* (Dutch *universeel*) were largely replaced by forms like *moral* (moral) and *universal* (universal); forms with *-is*, such as *futuristis* (Dutch *futuristisch*) and *diplomatis* (Dutch *diplomatisch*), are now giving way to forms with *-ik*, such as *futuristik* (futuristic) and *diplomatik* (diplomatic).

Because access to English was at first available mainly to the elite in society, those who could acquire a good education and travel abroad, ability in it has always been a mark of social status; to be able to speak (some) English, like the ability to speak Dutch before it, has always carried high prestige. Those with some facility in English are often inclined to show it, revealing themselves to be modern, sophisticated and successful. Those with prestige set the model for others; high government officials drop English words and phrases into their speech and are imitated by junior officials. Even people who know little English may try to impress by dropping English words into their conversation.

Although English became a compulsory school subject after independence, this has played little part in its success in Indonesia. Until the 1980s, most teachers had limited English proficiency and teaching tended to be of the same uninspiring grammar-based instruction used in teaching Indonesian, with the consequence that few people acquired anything but minimal English skills at school. In universities, where English is a compulsory subject in most fields of study, the same has generally been the case, although some better universities began to show considerable improvement in English teaching in the 1980s, leading to more students acquiring good English reading skills and sometimes speaking proficiency.

On the other hand, in areas visited by English-speaking tourists, poorly educated people often become quite proficient in selected registers of English without any formal instruction when it is important to earning a living.[7] But, overwhelmingly, it is the association of English with prestige and status that has provided the impetus to acquiring oral proficiency. For anyone wanting to learn English and having the ability to pay for it, opportunities began to increase considerably in larger cities from the late 1960s, with private language schools and tutors in abundance. Organisations such as the Ford and Fulbright foundations of the USA, the British Council and government agencies from other English-speaking countries have all played a part in promotion of the language.

With growing prosperity under the New Order government, a middle class emerged, marked in part by *nouveau riche* lifestyles and values of conspicuous consumption. Characteristics of this middle class include a preference for Western culture, transmitted through the print media, films, radio and television, rather than traditional culture. The opportunity to mix professionally and socially with middle-class Westerners, both within and outside the country, contributed to increased demand for English lessons and conversation classes.[8]

Not only is ability in English necessary for status; in many situations, it is also necessary to avoid loss of face. Speaking English or spicing one's speech with English words, phrases and even whole sentences, is so frequent among educated people that the need to keep up puts enormous pressure on many to acquire such skills. Living in a city, one cannot escape being constantly exposed to English. Advertisements, in the press, radio and television and in the streets, frequently contain English and may be wholly in English. Frequent contact with foreigners, who rarely have any proficiency in Indonesian, further increases the demand to perform.

Pressures to learn English were already strong by 1966 and continued to get stronger, not just for the sake of enhancing prestige, but for financial security and reward. In many fields, a knowledge of English is either important or essential. Many businesses require English even of junior executives and clerks. Advertisements for clerical positions usually specify English skills and frequently advertisements are wholly in English.

The excessive use of English by many in the educated urban middle class might lead the observer to suppose that there is a widespread high level of proficiency in English among this group. In fact, the percentage of people in the educated class with high-level command of English is small, partly because of the poor quality of language teaching in

schools. Government officials will throw English expressions into their speeches, sometimes without a clear idea of what they mean. While journalists frequently employ English words and phrases, and quote others using English, it is not uncommon for them to reveal their own limited facility in the language. When an English teacher is quoted as saying that *Ia makan nasi* means 'He/she eat rice' or when a politician is quoted as saying 'I am fine and I still live. My life happily', the journalist reveals his own limited English, whether or not the error was that of the person being quoted in the first place.[9]

THE ROLE OF THE MASS MEDIA IN DISSEMINATING ENGLISH

The role of the mass media in exposing the public to English can hardly be exaggerated. In the Sukarno era and the early days of the New Order, journalists had very limited resources for obtaining news, both from within the country and from overseas. Following the change of government in 1966, there was a drop in both the number of newspapers and the number of copies printed. However, from the early 1980s, the number of newspapers increased at a rapid rate (see p. 149).

News magazines also became popular with the urban middle class. Such magazines, aimed at the educated class wishing to keep abreast of current affairs, felt free to use English words, assuming that their readers would understand. A study of four 1979 issues of the influential news magazine *Tempo* found more than 900 words from European languages, almost all from English, of which nearly half could be said to be assimilated by the wide currency that they had in contemporary Indonesian society.[10] From the 1980s, there appeared numerous lifestyle magazines for particular interest groups among the affluent middle class, containing much that would be familiar in similar magazines in other countries, devoting considerable space to discussion of Western (usually American) films and film stars, television shows and personalities, fashion, travel, cooking, personal advice and so on.

Many stories from overseas in the daily press come from English-language agencies, like Reuters or United Press International, and with deadlines to meet journalists frequently do not have time to look for appropriate Indonesian translations, simply using the English, often in an Indonesian 'version'; for instance, replacing the ending '-ation' with *-isasi*. Such Indonesianisation of words does not mean that they are necessarily assimilated, but journalists assume their readers will understand. Use of Anglicisms has not been confined to news from abroad; stories

and articles derived from Indonesian sources were also appearing with many English borrowings by the late 1960s. The spontaneous use of English by journalists and their failure to follow the advice of language planners, or even to find out what that advice is, has long shown the lack of influence of the planners on the language of the press, as discussed in Chapter 8. Columns in newspapers and magazines by guest writers (often academics) and letters to the editor show that educated readers are just as inclined to employ Anglicisms in their writing as journalists.

A comparative study of the press in 1966 and 1996 found an enormous increase in lexical borrowings from English, as well as syntactic changes under English influence over the 30 years. The study identified more than 600 adjectives and more than 500 verbs derived from English in the 1996 sample, which together comprised 40 per cent of all borrowings identified in the study. This represents a huge increase over the number of borrowings from English occurring in the print media 30 years earlier, for which period the study identified 126 adjectives and 39 verbs in the samples examined. Many of the adjectives refer to abstract concepts; for example, *signifikan*, *internal*, *brutal*, *brilian*, *agresif*, *domestik*, *arogan* and *serius*. For most of these, there are no precise synonyms in Indonesian, although quite a number of borrowings occur alongside very similar established words, as with *spesial* and *khusus*, *simpel* and *sederhana*. Many of the words identified in this study are far from fully assimilated, but their frequent use by journalists is leading to increasingly wide acceptance. The author wrote that these 'demonstrate how contributors to the Indonesian print media in 1996 were able to write linguistically sophisticated and stylistically varied discourses on a great number of matters relating to new concepts, products and technologies and do this with a greater degree of lexical economy, diversity and precision than was possible in 1966'.[11] Most of the new adjectives and verbs relate to the registers of business and economics, education, national and international affairs, health, science and technology.

The study found that many businesses continue to employ English words and syntax in their names, such as *Gadjah Mada Department Store*, *Blok M Mall*, *Makmur Fashion Centre*, *Lin's Garden Restaurant*, and many others, despite official attempts to discourage the practice. Such use of English, usually without spelling change, is deliberately done 'to create a more "international" and "prestigious" corporate image'.[12]

Women's beauty is a domain employing many English words and phrases, such as 'shower', 'waxing', 'facial cleanser', 'blow-dryer', 'lip gloss', 'lipstick' and 'shampoo'. That these are given with English

spelling, or a mixture of English and Indonesian spelling (for instance, 'lipstick' is usually spelt 'lip stik'), shows that they are not fully assimilated words and phrases, but are recognised as being English. Their use is thus a case of code-switching, with the use of English phrases where no Indonesian equivalent occurs or where one does not present itself immediately to the writer. Their frequency, however, suggests that such forms are used effortlessly by educated speakers.

Advertising, in both print and electronic media, has also introduced large numbers of English words. Advertising takes up a significant amount of the space in the media. The study of *Tempo* in 1979, referred to above, found that advertising averaged about 30 per cent of text. Advertisements used a considerable amount of English, some in fact being wholly in English.[13] The study of the press in 1996 found that more than 50 per cent of space in lifestyle magazines, 35 per cent in daily newspapers and 31 per cent in weekly news magazines was taken up with advertising, again with many advertisements wholly or partially in English.[14]

It is quite common in the print media for an Indonesian word or phrase to be followed in parentheses by the English original, such as *tahan air* (waterproof) and *tiras surya* (sunscreen). Writers clearly make the assumption that the reader will be more familiar with the English term than the Indonesian, although in many cases it is difficult to see if anything is achieved by this, as with *teh hijau* (green tea) and *minyak tea tree* (tea tree oil).

In some ways, television is having a greater influence on the Indonesian language than any other medium. The number of registered television sets in Indonesia was just 10 000 in 1962, all in Jakarta. Under the New Order government, television services spread to the rest of the country, with a million sets by 1980. From the early days, there were programs from English-speaking countries, usually weekly serials with subtitles. In 1988, a second television channel began broadcasting and more soon followed. These greatly extended the variety of programs, including English-language, mostly American, shows — which are presented in English with Indonesian subtitles. From the 1980s, satellite reception greatly increased the number of channels to those who could afford it, including many international channels broadcasting exclusively in English. Local television programs are in Indonesian, but the songs on variety and popular entertainment shows are often in English. This also applies to radio; many of the English-language songs played have enormous appeal to the youth and the words are learnt by

heart. With young people, American movies are popular and in the 1980s the Indonesian film industry went into significant decline due to its inability to compete with English-language imports.

AREAS OF BORROWING

Borrowing from English occurs in some areas of discourse far more than in others. It is unlikely that Indonesians would borrow words from English or any other foreign language for an area of traditional culture, such as the *wayang* performance. But in registers associated with modern, cosmopolitan topics, such as fashion, film, science and technology, borrowing from English is frequent, both in the mass media and among the general educated public.

At the beginning of the 21st century, absorption of English words was continuing at a rapid pace. Some of the registers in which English words commonly occur in the press are given below, each with a few representative terms from the great many that could be cited. The 1993 edition of the official dictionary, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, contains over 10 000 more headwords than the first edition of 1988, the great majority of which are adopted global terms. Although they occur in many languages, including Dutch, recent borrowings can almost all be identified as coming from English.

The following are a few domains in which a large number of borrowings occur, with a few examples given for each.

- SPORT:

atlit	athlete
final	final
finis	finish
gol	goal
golf	golf
rekor	record
skor	score
tenis	tennis
turnamen	tournament

- MOVIES:

eksyen	action
sekuel	sequel
selebriti	celebrity
skrining	screening
syuting	shooting

- MUSIC:

diskotik	discotheque
fans	a fan (from the English plural)
hit	hit
kaset	cassette
merelis album	release an album
ngetop	top of hit parade
skor	score

- POPULAR CULTURE:

aksesori	accessory
fantasi	fantasy
gosip	gossip
joging	jog(ging)
komedi	comedy
kuis	quiz
modeling	modelling
status sosial	social status

- BUSINESS AND BANKING:

broker	broker
globalisasi	globalisation
impor/ekspor	import/export
inflasi	inflation
investor	investor
karier	career
komersial	commercial
konglomerat	conglomerate
kreditor	creditor
profesional	professional
stagnasi	stagnation

- GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS:

aliansi	alliance
birokrasi	bureaucracy
koalisi	coalition
krisis	crisis
kroni	crony
melobi	lobby

- MILITARY:
  Many military terms are from Dutch. However, more recently have come borrowings from English, including the following associated with the airforce:

kokpit	cockpit
simulator	simulator
skuadron	squadron
helikopter	helicopter
jet	jet
kru	crew
supersonik	supersonic

- SCIENCE:
  Modern terms have replaced many older terms that are now felt to be imprecise and old-fashioned. Thus *astronomi* is now used instead of *ilmu bintang* (science of stars), *geographi* instead of *ilmu bumi* (science of the earth), and so on.

- MEDICAL:

akut	acute
diabetes	diabetes (earlier *kencing manis* 'sweet urine')
diagnosis	diagnosis
donor (darah)	(blood) donor
kolaps	collapse
stress	stress
stroke	stroke

- COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY:

download	to download
kompatibel	compatible
mem-backup	to back up
meng-email	to email
mengklik	to click

A computer printer is *printer*, not *pencetak*, the common word in other contexts. Whole sentences in discussion of computers may contain barely any Indonesian: *Fasilitas ini dapat transfer data dari ponsel ke printer dan ponsel lain yang kompatibel* means 'This facility can transfer data from the mobile phone (*ponsel* from 'cell phone', using *pon* rather than assimilated *telepon*) to compatible printers and other mobile phones'.

Through fast-food chains like McDonald's and Pizza Hut, terms such as *burger*, *donut* and *chicken*, with American spelling, are familiar in large cities. One commentator recounts that, in a Jakarta restaurant, he asked for *gelas susu* (a glass of milk), only to be met with puzzlement from two waitresses. Only when they called in the manager did they understand that he wanted *freshmilk*, the term that was on their menu.[15]

A number of organisations and places have only English names, such as *ICW* (Indonesian Corruption Watch — set up after fall of Suharto), *Jakarta Convention Centre*, *Jakarta Outer Ring Road*, and *UPC* (Urban Poor Consortium).

THE ASSIMILATION OF BORROWINGS

How assimilated are many of the English terms appearing in the media and in frequent use by educated speakers? That is, how many Indonesians regard these terms as Indonesianised and not simply as foreign words being used either for clarity or to win prestige? In some cases, this is a difficult question to answer and the answer will differ from person to person. Many of the terms are frequently used and perfectly natural to educated city-dwellers, but would sound foreign and even unintelligible to people of lesser education, including most rural people. Many of the terms are used so frequently by educated people in both writing and speech that they have won acceptance in the official dictionary, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*. The 1979 study of *Tempo* magazine referred to above suggested that only half the words located were assimilated in terms of how widely they are used. A significant number of those listed as non-assimilated would now be regarded as perfectly acceptable to any educated person; for example, *konflik*, *narkotik*, *agresif*, *surpris* and *konservatif*.

In some cases, a verb is shown to be assimilated or not by whether the verbal prefix *meN-* (where *N* represents any nasal sound) assimilates to the first sound of the verb base. If the base begins with 's', 'p', 't', or 'k', this sound is lost. For example:

meN- + *tulis* → *menulis* (write)

With foreign words, the initial consonant is retained. For example:

meN- + *kontrol* → *mengkontrol* (to control)

This is largely so that the unfamiliar word remains entirely intact for recognition. As the word becomes more common, it becomes more

assimilated; increasing numbers of people feel comfortable to use it as if it were a native word. When this occurs, the normal rules for applying *meN-* operate; *mengkontrol* then appears as *mengontrol.* Such changes do not occur instantly. Frequently, the same word will appear in both forms for years, with some people treating it as assimilated well before others. This does not only apply to borrowings from English, but also to earlier borrowings from other languages, including Arabic. The Arabic borrowing *taat* (obedient) occurred in the derivative *mentaati* (to obey) for a long period, even into the 1990s, although the regularised *menaati* has now almost entirely replaced it.

When borrowings from English such as *target* and *sukses* formed verbs like *mentargetkan* (to target, aim at) and *mensukseskan* (to make successful), they could not be regarded as yet accepted as Indonesian. When *menargetkan* and *menyukseskan* began to appear in the press and in speech alongside them, the process of assimilation was well underway. Such processes are very visible in the mass media, with competing forms appearing until eventually there is full integration, with only the regular form occurring.

Quite a few borrowings have been fully integrated in Indonesian, but with a meaning different from the English original. Thus *success* means 'successful' ('success' is the derived form *kesuksesan*), *sensor* means 'censorship' (the verb *mensensor* is 'to censor'). In other cases, there is a semantic shift, as with:

drop	give funds or goods to areas which need them
duet	two people working as a team (used frequently in the press in the late 1990s of President Wahid and Vice President Megawati)
grogi	nervous
isu, isyu	rumour (as well as 'issue')
juri	member of a jury ('jury' is *dewan juri*, literally 'council of jurors')
kompak	united by feelings of solidarity (of a team or group)
lobi	informal deliberations among members of different parliamentary parties
skenario	script (for a movie)
yel	slogan shouted in demonstration

Where a phrase is borrowed from English, the order of words is usually changed to conform with Indonesian grammar; normally this involves placing an adjective after a noun, as with *desainer fesyen*

(fashion designer), *efek domino* (domino effect) and *krisis moniter* (monetary crisis). Such forms contrast with completely unassimilated English phrases that retain English word order.

It is common practice in the print media to use italics for a word that is a borrowing and not felt to be assimilated, whether from a foreign language or a regional language like Javanese. Thus, in *Akan ada krisis dan* showdown. (There will be a crisis and a showdown), with *showdown* in italics in the original, the writer recognises *krisis* as an assimilated word, familiar and often used, while *showdown* is treated as not (yet) being Indonesian, but a case of an English word being used where an Indonesian equivalent is not readily to hand. Words italicised in this way usually retain the spelling of the original, thus *showdown* instead of *syodaun*. This can be compared with *syuting* for 'shooting', an assimilated word referring to filming. English phrasal verbs can also occur as verb bases; for example, *mem-back up* (to back someone up, support) and *me-markup (harga)*, meaning 'to mark up (prices)'. The fact that these forms are usually italicised in the press and retain their English spelling shows that, while familiar, they are not yet assimilated. Presumably, if *back up* becomes fully integrated, it will come to be spelt *bekap* — compare the assimilated word *beking* (backing, support).

Not all foreign forms used by journalists and others succeed in becoming fully accepted by the community. In some cases, an apparently accepted borrowing is later replaced by an Indonesian equivalent. Thus earlier *mengkover* (cover a story — of a journalist) has been entirely replaced by *meliput*, a new word based on *meliputi* (cover something over). Similarly, *mengasembling* (assemble, put together) has been replaced by *merakit* (originally meaning 'make a raft') and *prakarsa* has replaced *inisiatif* for 'initiative'.

EXCESSIVE BORROWING FROM ENGLISH

A great many borrowings from English fulfil no communicative need, expressing concepts adequately covered by existing words. Examples include:

eksis, beside *ada* (exist)
hipokrit, beside *munafik* (hypocrite)
kandidat, beside *calon* (candidate)
opini, beside *pendapat* (opinion)
prediksi, beside *ramalan* and *prakiraan* (forecast, prediction)
reporter, beside *wartawan* (journalist)
target, beside *sasaran* (target)

In such cases, the existence of a well-established word would appear to rule out the need for the English word. However, familiarity with English in areas associated with modernity and the global village make it easy for people to use such words, which may push aside existing words that are not associated with modern life. Such unnecessary English words have been called 'markers of modern identity', revealing the user to be educated and modern.[16]

A proliferation of such competing forms is a source of much irritation to the language planners and others who resent the excessive influence of English on their national language. But while the press, advertisers, businesses and other sectors of educated population think that English terms are more precise, modern and prestigious, the planners are unlikely to get their way.

One scholar has noted that many borrowings from English are superfluous from the point of view of communicative efficiency, but have a conspicuous place by bringing the language into conformity with traditional indigenous conceptions of elite speech and speakers. He writes:

> These borrowings do not help to meet communicative requirements in a modernizing society as an efficient language so much as they conform with and furnish evidence of a traditional conception of proper, prestigious language use and users, one that is well known to students of Javanese culture … Like the Sanskritic borrowings … superfluous Anglicisms can be linked to a traditional Javanese conception of the relation of esoteric linguistic codes to esoteric knowledge and social power.[17]

In this analysis, just identifying status and fashion as the social motivators for the influence of English fails to see the deeper cultural values, at least for Javanese.

Some borrowings are felt to fulfil a need for a particular concept that is new to the society or is felt not to be fully or precisely covered by existing words. Thus *fair* has, since the late 1990s, become a common word, somewhat different in meaning from *adil* (just), *bisnis* (business) is a concept not adequately covered by any existing word, while *transaksi* (business deal) is more precise than *urusan bisnis*, which is a broader term for 'business affairs'.

It is not unusual for intellectuals to pepper their speech, not only with English words, but with whole phrases. The following short sample, spoken by journalist Mohamad Sobari during a radio interview in 2000, is not atypical:

Gus Dur memerlukan transitional period, *saya kira* something like three years or so *untuk itu … MPR yang anggota-anggotanya sangat* selfish, *sangat* group oriented *dan berfikir tentang* short-term projects.

TRANSLATION:

Gus Dur (President Abdurrahman Wahid) needs a *transitional period*, I think *something like three years or so* in order to … The MPR (People's Consultative Council) whose members are very *selfish*, very *group oriented* and think about *short-term projects*.

Use of phrases and snippets of English, as in the above example, is common among educated people and is typical of intellectual debate. This is a case of code-switching, in which the speaker switches within the utterance from one language to another and back again. In this way, English elements, when used frequently enough, can become increasingly integrated, eventually becoming established as fully accepted or integrated borrowings.

The freedom with which journalists and others have in recent times been prepared to use English words as bases for derived forms can be seen in words like *me*-nothing-*kan* (do nothing with; treat as nothing), as in *Pak Abdurrahman Wahid me*-nothing-*kan apa-apa yang kami sampaikan* (Abdurrahman Wahid does nothing with/dismisses whatever we convey to him), said by a member of parliament. The word 'nothing' has not been borrowed into Indonesian and is another example of code-switching — in this case, the English being the base of a transitive verb with Indonesian morphology. The word is italicised when reported in the press, with 'nothing' separated from affixes by hyphens, a clear indication that the newspapers do not regard it as an integrated form. Nevertheless, the constant use of such forms by members of the educated elite highlights just how willing they are to use English words, even to the extent of deriving complex words from them.

It is often assumed that excessive or unnecessary use of English is a phenomenon confined to formal language and the mass media. However, educated people are probably more likely to sprinkle their colloquial speech with English words and phrases than their formal writing and speech. For instance, in formal language 'mobile phone' is *telepon genggam* (literally 'hand telephone'), 'airport' is *bandar udara* (a loan translation of the English) and 'travel agent' is *biro perjalanan*. In colloquial speech, it is more common to hear 'hand phone', frequently abbreviated to *ha pe* (h p), 'airport' and 'travel

agent' for these, forms that are unlikely to be encountered in the press. While *penjualan* is the formal word for 'sales', people speaking informally in the business domain are more likely to simply use the English and, in connection with computers, to use *di-save* (saved) and *di-on-kan* (turned on), where *disimpan* and *dinyalakan* are the standard terms in formal language.[18]

The following short extracts are taken from unplanned colloquial conversations between university graduates in Jakarta. As in the examples of formal speech above, they contain whole phrases in English:

D married *sama L dibawah tangan. Jadi nggak ada surat nikahnya. Beneran itu.* It's not just a rumour, *gitu loh,* but true.
D *married* L unofficially. So they don't have a marriage certificate. It's true. *It's not just a rumour*, you know, *but true.*

A: *Gua pengen sekolah ke luar negeri, cuman gua kepikiran tentang hubungan gua sama Fido nih.*
B: *Iya yah.* Long distance relationship *tu, tu bener nggak si ya? Maksudnya bisa bertahan enggak si?*
A: *Ya si …* depends*-lah.*
A: I want to study abroad, but I'm worried about my relationship with Fido.
B: Yeah. Can there really be a *long-distance relationship*? I mean, could it be long-lasting?
A: Yes, well … it *depends.*

Saya seneng banget, liat pesawat tu take off, *gitu. Bagi saya tu* impressive *skali.*
I really like to watch the planes *take off*, you know. For me that's really *impressive.*

Such conversations are spontaneous and the English is in no way forced. Constant unplanned use of English words and phrases in this way reveals familiarity with the English and relaxed confidence in using it, even if it is not always used correctly.[19]

AFFIXES

As mentioned, when a word containing an affix in one language is borrowed into another language, the affix cannot necessarily be treated as an affix in the borrowing language; frequently the word acts as a single meaningful unit in the borrowing language. Affixes in such words in the

original language only become affixes in the borrowing language when their status as separate meaningful units becomes recognised through use in new words whose base occurs alone. Thus *-isasi*, borrowed from Dutch (see p. 167), clearly became a new suffix in Indonesian when people felt free to add it to words other than those with which it was originally borrowed, such as *Balkanisasi* (Balkanisation), where it is attached to the free word *Balkan*. In cases like this, users are consciously using *-isasi* to produce a new noun meaning 'cause to be like what the base indicates'. Hence *-isasi* has become an established derivational suffix in modern Indonesian. In borrowing English words ending with '-(is)ation', Indonesian replaces the suffix with Dutch-derived *-(is)asi*; for example, the English 'recommendation' is borrowed as *rekomendasi* and 'globalisation' as *globalisasi*.

As well as suffixes, a number of new prefixes can be recognised as having been accepted as part of the Indonesian system of bound morphemes. Most of these also occur in Dutch, but it is since the decline of Dutch influence that their frequent use and application to new bases has become noticeable. The negative prefix *de-* was used in *de-Prabowo-isasi* (de-Prabowoisation) in 1998, a reference to the removal of the influence of sacked General Prabowo from the military. While the word may have been short-lived, it demonstrates the freedom that many journalists, commentators and others felt in applying *de-*, already occurring in words such as *deregulasi* (deregulation — besides *regulasi* 'regulation'), to new words.

Other new prefixes in the language include:

dis-	as in *disintegrasi* (disintegration — besides *integrasi* 'integration') and *diskredit* (discredit — besides *kredit* 'credit')
in-	as in *instabilitas* (instability — besides *stabilitas* 'stability') and *inkonsisten* (inconsistent — besides *konsisten* 'consistent')
non-	as in *non-migas* (not oil or gas), *nonmiliter* (non-military) and *non-pribumi* (non-indigenous)
re-	as in *recek* (recheck — besides *cek* 'check') and *reedukasi* (reeducation — besides *edukasi* 'education')

Another possible prefix is *anti*, although this is usually written as a separate word and could be regarded as a word meaning 'opposed to; acting against', as in *anti perang* (anti-war) and *anti Mega* (anti-Megawati).

Popular with journalists and advertisers in the modern language is the use of such forms as:

ekstra-	as in *ekstraketat* (extra tight — of security) and *ekstrahati-hati* (extra careful)
mega-	as in *megabintang* (megastar) and *megahit* (megahit — of a pop song)
multi-	as in *multinasional* (multinational) and *multilevel* (multilevel)
super-	as in *supertipis dan superaman* (super thin and super safe — of a brand of glasses)
ultra-	as in *ultraringan dan ultratipis* (ultra light and ultra thin)

Whether such forms should be regarded as prefixes could be debated, and some people write them as separate words. They cannot be regarded as adjectives because, as such, they would follow rather than precede the noun. To educated city-dwellers familiar with modern advertising and the language of television and magazines, these forms are already assimilated and can be added to new words, although it is doubtful if they are (yet) regarded as Indonesian by less educated people.

There is now a large number of verbs whose base comes from a derived noun (in English), not from the verb from which the noun is derived. Thus, instead of a verb being based on 'explore', one is based on 'exploration': *mengeksplorasi* (to explore). This has become the preferred form of borrowing where in English a noun is derived from a verb with the suffix '-ation'. Among many other instances are:

mempublikasikan	to publish (as well as *publikasi* 'publication')
mendeskripsikan	to describe (as well as *deskripsi* 'description')
mengidentifikasi	to identify (as well as *identifikasi* 'identification')
merekomendasikan	to recommend (as well as *rekomendasi* 'recommendation')

The suffix *-isasi* is now even used to create derivatives that do not occur in English and that have to be translated by a paraphrase. These include *eufemisasi* (the use of euphemisms) and *sarkasmisasi* (the use

of sarcasm), as in *sarkasmisasi sebagai strategi perlawanan antarelite* (using sarcasm as a strategy in conflict among the elite).

Heavy borrowing from English has resulted in a number of other innovations in verb formation. Derived English words may form Indonesian verb bases. These can consist of a negativising prefix and base, as with *mendiskreditkan* (to discredit — base *diskredit*) and *menonaktifkan* (to make nonactive — base *nonaktif*), as in *Jenderal Wiranto dinonaktifkan* (General Wiranto was put on the nonactive list — removed from duties). The acceptability of this last form is shown by its use with other derivatives, such as the noun-forming affixation *pen-…-an*: *soal penonaktifan Wiranto* (the question of the nonactivating of Wiranto).

LOAN TRANSLATIONS

English influence has not been entirely in the form of direct borrowing. A great many Indonesian phrases employ native words based on English models. Such loan translations — or calques, as they are called — sometimes consist merely of an extension of an existing meaning of a word, such as *bintang* (star) for 'movie star' and *merangkul* (hug, embrace) for 'encompass'. Many are phrases that are direct translations of the English, including:

cetak biru	blueprint
kekebalan diplomatik	diplomatic immunity
pencakar langit	skyscraper
pertolongan pertama	first aid
polisi huru-hara	riot police
serangan jantung	heart attack

In recent years, such forms have proliferated. Some would probably not be clearly understood by most people outside the educated elite, such as:

kebakaran jenggot	have one's beard singed
kilas balik	flashback
pembuat keputusan	decision maker
pembunuh berantai	serial killer
perselisihan kepentingan	conflict of interest
posisi kunci	key position

A few common loan translations involve some sort of semantic

shift from the original, such as *kambing hitam* (scapegoat — literally 'black goat', a confusion with 'black sheep') and *dagang sapi* (horse trading — literally 'cow trade', a term that came into vogue during the political manoeuvring after the fall of Suharto). Some loan translations are quite long, revealing how prepared many journalists and others are to adapt English-language phrases rather than simply borrowing the English; for example, *sepelontaran batu (dari)*, meaning 'a stone's throw (from)', *senjata pemusnah massal* (weapon of mass destruction) and *membentur-benturkan kepala ke dinding* (bash one's head against the wall).

It is not infrequent for a common phrase to be a hybrid, with one component from English and the other component from Indonesian, as with *polusi udara* (air pollution), *komedi hitam* (black comedy) and *konflik agama* (religious conflict). In such cases, the phrase itself occurs under English influence.

GRAMMATICAL INNOVATIONS

Indonesian has undergone a considerable number of grammatical changes under English influence, even where direct borrowing has not been involved, of which the following are a few examples.

The function of the affixation *ke-…-an*, which derives abstract nouns, such as *keanggotaan* (membership — from base *anggota* 'member'), has been enormously extended. This process began under Dutch influence, but later increased considerably because of the need for reference to a greater number and variety of abstract concepts. This includes its attachment to verbs with the prefixes *ter-* and *ber-*, such as *keberangkatan* (departure — from *berangkat* 'depart') and *keterbacaan* (readability — from *terbaca* 'readable'). As another innovation, the negator *tidak* can now occur within the affixation: *ketidakakuratan* (inaccuracy — *tidak akurat* 'inaccurate'), *ketidak-berdayaan* (powerlessness — *tidak berdaya* 'not powerful, powerless') and *ketidak-sesuaian* (unsuitability; incompatibility — *tidak sesuai* 'not suitable, not compatible').

Journalists, novelists and other writers are inclined to use sentences containing various participial clauses, which are common in English but until recently were unknown in Indonesian. Use of such structures was initiated by journalists translating directly from English, as with *Terletak di dekat pelabuhan, tempat itu sering dikunjungi pelaut-pelaut* (Located near the harbour, the place is frequented by sailors). Without English influence, this would have to be

expressed with a relative clause: *Tempat yang terletak dekat pelabuhan itu* … (The place that is located near the harbour …). Combinations of prepositions and interrogatives, like *di mana?* (where?) and *untuk siapa?* (for whom), are used by many people as literal translations of English structures, although condemned by purists, as in *Kota Jakarta, di mana penduduknya bertambah terus* … (Jakarta, where the population continues to grow …) and *Pak Saleh, untuk siapa laporan ini dibuat,* … (Mr Saleh, for whom this report was made, …).[20]

Passive constructions have always been of higher frequency in Indonesian than in Western European languages and continue to be so in both formal and informal speech. (In Western languages such as English, passives, such as 'The stone was thrown by John', are much less common than active constructions, such as 'John threw the stone'.) However, under influence of first Dutch and then English, there has been a marked shift towards use of active constructions in formal written Indonesian. One study found that more than 60 per cent of transitive clauses (constructions that can have a subject and an object) were passive in Classical Malay of the 17th century, which dropped to 44 per cent in newspapers of the 1970s and even lower in novels.[21] In the following example, the first passage is from the pre-1978 Catholic Eucharistic text and the second is from the post-1978 version. Both versions have the same meaning. In both versions the first verb *meng-ambil* 'take' is active; all the other verbs are passive in the first version, with the prefix *di-*, and active in the second version, with the prefix *meN-*. In the English translation, all verbs are active, as passives would be quite unnatural. The verbs are underlined in all versions, with bases separated from affixes by hyphens.

PRE-1978 VERSION:

> *Yesus meng-ambil roti, di-ucap-kan-nya doa syukur, di-bagi-bagi-nya roti itu, dan di-beri-kan-nya kepada murid-murid-nya …*

POST-1978 VERSION:

> *Yesus meng-ambil roti, meng-ucap syukur, mem-bagi-bagi roti itu, dan mem-beri-kan-nya kepada para murid …*

TRANSLATION:

> Jesus took bread, said a prayer of thanks, divided the bread and gave it to His disciples …[22]

REACTION TO ENGLISH INFLUENCE

The policy of the *Pusat Bahasa* (Language Centre) is not to borrow Western words unless there is no local choice. One of the stated reasons is that the effect on the language of too much Western influence is to produce a kind of linguistic segregation between the language of the common people and the educated elite who are familiar with Western languages, in particular English.[23] In the 1990s, the *Pusat Bahasa* undertook a campaign against the use of foreign terms for the sake of prestige only. Among terms it denounced were 'money changer', 'grand opening', 'department store' and 'delivery service'. But the 'Indonesian' terms it offered as alternatives, such as *pedagang valuta asing* (literally 'foreign exchange trader') for 'money changer', are unlikely to impress most people who use the English terms.[24]

Criticism of excessive use of English has long been frequent, even being expressed in commentaries by journalists, the very ones responsible for much of the problem! The term *bahasa gado-gado* (mixed-up language — *gado-gado* being a mixed vegetable dish) is derisively used for the language of officials and others who insert too much English into their speech and writing. Among criticisms are that the officials who use such language lack pride in Indonesian and set a poor example for the public.

The problem of excessive use of English is not a new one. In 1973, Ali Sadikin, the governor of Jakarta, instructed government officials and businesses to use Indonesian rather than English in the names of offices and shops and in their professional terminology.[25] In 1984, signboards with 'foreign' words were liable to a fine in Jakarta, a policy reinforced in 1993.[26] Such regulations have had little effect and have needed to be repeated. In 1995, the government required the Indonesianisation of the names of all buildings and businesses, with the *Pusat Bahasa* quickly producing a guide book of appropriate Indonesian names.[27] Most businesses wanting to use foreign names ignore the regulations and little is done to enforce them (see examples on p. 178).

Among the educated public and the media there is something of a double standard in attitudes to the intrusion of English. On the one hand, their language is peppered with English words and phrases; on the other, opposition among them to excessive use of English is common. Letters to the editor sections in newspapers contain many letters whose writers pride themselves on displaying their knowledge of English, as well as letters decrying the use of English and its 'takeover'

'LADYYY....
THE TRUTH OF LOVE BEGINS ON YOU,
'LADY' I WANT YOU TO KNOW I'AM FEELING DOWN
Satu Nusa, INDONESIA, Satu Bangsa, INDONESIA, Satu Bahasa,

Figure 9.1
A satirical look at the influence of English. The caption reads: 'One Nation: *Indonesia*, One People: *Indonesian*, One Language: ?', while at a national music festival the singing is in English — note errors in the English (Opini T. Sutanto, *Tempo*, 6 November 1982). (Courtesy *Tempo* magazine)

of Indonesian. American movies, usually in English with subtitles, are very popular, yet writers of letters to the editor express concern about the Western influence on traditional values. Those who use English excessively and those who complain about it publicly are, of course, rarely the same people. Nevertheless, both groups tend to belong to the educated middle class and elite in society. To date, there is no sign that those unhappy about excessive use of English are in any way influencing the habits of the majority.

10

REGIONAL LANGUAGES AND THE SPREAD OF INDONESIAN

THE LANGUAGES OF INDONESIA

Indonesia has more languages than any other country in the Asia–Pacific region, with the exception of Papua New Guinea. West Papua (Irian Jaya), the Indonesian half of the island of New Guinea, has at least 200 languages and there are about 350 in the rest of the country. This gives Indonesia about 550 languages, roughly one-tenth of all the languages in the world today.

To arrive at the precise number of languages in Indonesia is impossible. One of the main problems is that different researchers have different criteria for deciding whether two regional varieties constitute dialects of a single language or separate languages. Thus in one classification there is a language named Lamaholot, which occurs in a number of dialects in Flores and nearby islands, while in another study this is treated as 17 different languages.[1] Some sources give a greater number of languages overall for Indonesia than the roughly 550 mentioned. One source, which is far more inclined than others to recognise closely related dialects as distinct languages, claims a total of 714.[2] Apart from the differences in interpretation, the number of languages recognised has continued to increase as the linguistic situation in the country has become better understood. For instance, the number of languages recognised in South Sulawesi gradually increased from seven in 1938 to 28 in 1989.[3] Many of the regional forms recognised in the later works were entirely unknown to the earlier authors, the increase in estimated language numbers reflecting the ever-increasing depth and detail of regional surveys by trained linguists.

Indigenous languages in Indonesia are recognised as being either Austronesian (discussed in Chapter 2) or non-Austronesian. The label non-Austronesian is a term of convenience to cover a large number of languages, also called Papuan languages, which belong to a variety of groups whose relationships to each other, if any, have not all yet been satisfactorily determined. These Papuan languages are spoken on the island of New Guinea and on nearby islands, westward to Halmahera in the north and to Timor and surrounding islands in the south. The largest group of non-Austronesian languages is the Trans New Guinea family, which has more than 150 members in Indonesia, as well as many in Papua New Guinea.

The majority of languages in Indonesia are Austronesian, 64 per cent of the languages in one count (see Table 10.1). The Austronesian languages belong mainly to the Western Malayo-Polynesian group (see Figure 2.2). In eastern Indonesia are languages of the Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian group, scattered among non-Austronesian languages. On the island of New Guinea, Austronesian languages occur only in a few coastal regions, with Papuan languages occupying the bulk of the island. All the languages with significant numbers of speakers belong to the Western Malayo-Polynesian group, including all the languages whose speakers are estimated to number more than 100 000, as shown in Table 10.1.[4]

Table 10.1
The languages of Indonesia

Number of speakers	Austronesian	Non-Austronesian	Total
More than 1 million	13	—	13
100 000–1 million	35	—	35
10 000–100 000	92	22	114
1000–10 000	127	73	200
200–1000	62	59	121
Fewer than 200	16	36	52
Not known	8	7	15
Total	**353**	**197**	**550**

The figures are not very recent, but details are unlikely to be significantly different today. The total of 550 languages is, as mentioned, subject to the qualification that there are different interpretations of what regional forms constitute distinct languages and some sources give

a larger number of languages. The percentage of the entire population speaking Austronesian languages is, however, significantly higher than that speaking non-Austronesian languages. The 48 languages with the greatest number of speakers in Table 10.1 are all Austronesian. A more recent source than that for Table 10.1 gives 14 languages, all Western Malayo-Polynesian, as having more than a million speakers, as shown in Table 10.2.[5]

Table 10.2
Numbers of speakers of larger languages

Language	Number (millions)	Main areas where spoken
Javanese	75	East & Central Java
Sundanese	27	West Java
Madurese	9	Madura, East Java
Minangkabau	6.5	Southern Sumatra
Buginese	3.6	South Sulawesi
Balinese	3	Bali
Acehnese	2.4	Northern Sumatra
Banjarese	2.1	Kalimantan
Sasak	2.1	Lombok
Toba Batak	2	Northern Sumatra
Makassarese	1.6	South Sulawesi
Lampung	1.5	Southern Sumatra
Dairi Batak	1.2	Northern Sumatra
Rejang	1	Southwest Sumatra

The figures are not likely to be entirely accurate; for some languages, the number of speakers will have risen and others may have joined the million-plus group. Thus Gorontalo in North Sulawesi, given as having 0.9 million speakers, may now have more than a million speakers. Some others will have suffered a drop in numbers, as discussed below. Banjarese is given as having 2.1 million speakers in the source for this table, yet in the 1990 census the number of Banjarese speakers, excluding children under five years of age, was given as 2.75 million.[6] The 1980 census, which counted children under five, gave 1.42 million speakers. This increase, the most significant rise for any of the major languages in Indonesia, was mainly at the expense of other Kalimantan languages. The official censuses give data only on a limited number of the larger languages, as discussed below.

Malay has been excluded from Table 10.2. While regional forms of Malay, both traditional and post-creole, have an aggregate number of speakers in the tens of millions, it is impossible to give a meaningful total. There is uncertainty as to whether all varieties called Malay can actually be regarded as members of a single language. Table 10.2 lists Banjarese as a separate language, although it is one of the descendants of the Malay brought back to Borneo from Sumatra, possibly in Srivijayan times, and it is still regarded as a form of Malay by many people. A linguistic map published in 1983 gives 'Sumatran Malay' as having ten million speakers, but occurring in 27 dialects, including Deli, Riau, Kerinci, Besemah, Palembang, Bangka and Belitung.[7] Some of these, like Kerinci and Besemah, are generally recognised as sufficiently different from other varieties to be classified as separate languages. Also, Malay is spoken by significant numbers outside Indonesia, unlike any of the other major languages. The source for Table 10.2 lists Pattani Malay of southern Thailand as a separate language with a million speakers.

KNOWLEDGE OF INDONESIAN

While it had been evident since independence that the percentage of people who could speak Indonesian had been growing, it was only with the census of 1971 that a reasonably informed estimate could be made, with the censuses of 1980 and 1990 allowing a clearer picture of the continuing growth in numbers of Indonesian speakers. However, there are numerous difficulties in interpreting the figures.

First, 'Indonesian' is not defined. The 1971 census asked, 'Do you know Indonesian?' The following two censuses went into more detail, asking 'What is your daily language at home?' and 'If not Indonesian, do you know Indonesian?' It is clear that, where the language of the home was a local variety of Malay, people were inconsistent as to whether they identified this as Indonesian or not. In the 1980 census, people in North Sulawesi did not regard Manado Malay, the first language of the majority in the capital city Manado and surrounding countryside, as Indonesian; virtually no one in that region gave Indonesian as their first language. On the other hand, the majority in the city of Medan, capital of North Sumatra, gave Indonesian as their first language.[8] Clearly, most people in Medan regarded the local vernacular, a variety of traditional Malay, as being (a kind of) Indonesian, whereas residents of Manado distinguished their first language, a development from a creole form of Malay, from Indonesian. Between 1980 and 1990, in the Moluccas, Indonesian showed a decline in numbers, whereas 'other' languages

increased. Apparently, many speakers of Ambon Malay gave their first language as Indonesian in 1980, but as 'other' in 1990.[9]

Secondly, the answer to the question 'Do you know Indonesian?' had to be 'yes' or 'no'; one could not write 'a little' or 'only a regional variety', for instance. Thus the census does not reveal people's level of competence in the language. One researcher has written: 'There may have been a tendency to answer "yes" as a sign of one's good citizenship, where "a bit" or perhaps "no" would have been more in accordance with the facts.' He adds: 'If the benevolent response towards the foreign tourist who manages to stammer a one-word phrase in heavily accented Indonesian, *O, bahasa Indonesianya lancar sekali!* ("Oh, you speak fluent Indonesian!"), is to be taken as indicative of the average Indonesian's evaluation of linguistic competence, then the results of the censuses regarding knowledge of Indonesian should be viewed with some scepticism'.[10] In answer to the question 'What is your daily language at home?' bilingualism is excluded; the respondent could only state one language. This distorts the real situation, as in many homes both a regional language and Indonesian are used.

Nevertheless, these problems would have been the same for all the censuses; consequently, comparison of the results is informative.

The numbers of people given as speaking Indonesian, whether as 'daily language at home' or otherwise known, in each census are shown in Table 10.3. Figures are rounded to the nearest million.[11]

Table 10.3
Numbers speaking Indonesian according to censuses

Year	Indonesian speakers (millions, rounded)	Total population (millions, rounded)	% of population speaking Indonesian
1971	48	118	41
1980	90	146	62
1990	131	157	83

The figures in the 1990 census exclude children under five years of age. The total population at that time was 190 million. If the 1990 census had included young children, assigning them to their parents' language, as in the previous census, the number of Indonesian speakers would have been given as 158 million.

The figures show a rapid and continuing increase in the absolute number of people speaking Indonesian, as well as of the percentage of

the total population who can, taken over the 19 years of the three censuses. The figures in Table 10.4 show the increase in various segments of the population.

Table 10.4
Percentages of Indonesian speakers in various categories

Age group	Census date					
	1971	1980	1990	1971	1980	1990
	Urban males			*Rural males*		
10–49	87.4	96.9	98.8	54.2	82.1	92.8
50+	72.6	83.5	88.4	31.4	50.8	65.2
	Urban females			*Rural females*		
10–49	78.7	91.5	96.7	38.9	67.8	85.1
50+	51.5	59.1	68.5	14.2	20.8	34.8

The census figures show higher percentages of city dwellers speaking Indonesian than rural people. The highest figure is for urban males in the age group 10–49 years, growing from 87.4 per cent in 1971 to 98.8 per cent in 1990, virtually the entire urban male population. Among rural people, the percentage speaking Indonesian was lower in every category than in the corresponding city category. Nevertheless, outside cities a dramatic leap in those speaking Indonesian also occurred over the 19 years; for males under 50 years of age, it rose to almost 93 per cent.

If the trends continued, by the year 2000 virtually 100 per cent of urban dwellers under 50 years of age would have been speakers of Indonesian, whether as a first or second language, with the percentage rising to well above 90 per cent in the countryside also, apart from the elderly. However, the financial and social troubles that struck Indonesia in the late 1990s have probably had an effect on the trend — although, without subsequent census data yet available, accurate figures are not known.

As mentioned, censuses do not indicate the level of competence in Indonesian. Certainly, for the majority who can be said to be speakers of the language, their ability is not high and among the more poorly educated it is confined almost entirely to colloquial speech.

The spread of Indonesian has been partly at the expense of the regional languages, with an increasing number of city dwellers being monolingual in the national language. When a family moves to a city, it is likely that the regional language will be the language of the home. However, they will be in daily contact with people from other

regions of Indonesia and communication with them is usually in Indonesian. Their children may speak the regional language in the home, but will use Indonesian with friends, as well as at school. When these children set up home, it is most likely that they will speak Indonesian with their children, possibly alongside the regional language. Their own children will probably have only a passive knowledge, if any, of the regional language. The 1990 census shows 37.1 per cent of the urban population speaking Indonesian in the home, many of whom are monolingual in the language.

Apart from Jakarta, almost every large regional city is in a regional language area, although cities in traditional Malay-speaking areas, such as Medan and Palembang in Sumatra, and in post-creole Malay-speaking areas, such as Manado and Ambon, may be regarded as exceptions. However, when people move to Semarang, Surabaya or Yogyakarta in the Javanese-speaking area, or Bandung in the Sundanese-speaking area, or Makassar (formerly Ujung Pandang) in the Makassarese-speaking area, for instance, there is usually little incentive for them to learn the local language. As is the case in Jakarta, their children are educated in Indonesian, electronic and print media are in Indonesian and, although the majority in the city would be speakers of the regional language, they are likely to speak Indonesian as well. Therefore, a newcomer to the place is unlikely to encounter many difficulties by not being able to speak the local language, although young children will almost certainly acquire some fluency in it. Thus, increasingly in cities, the language of everyday interaction is a variety of Indonesian. People moving to reside in a Malay-speaking city are far more likely to acquire the local Malay variety than they are to learn a different language, although it could be argued this is simply the acquisition of the local colloquial Indonesian.

Outside the cities, the regional languages often continue to play an important role, although how important depends on a number of factors, including the size of the language community. The comparison of the 1980 and 1990 censuses in Table 10.5 shows an increase in the number of people who are first-language speakers of each of the eight regional languages that were individually listed. Nevertheless, in percentage terms there is a decrease in all but two of them. All other languages were grouped together under ‘other’ in the censuses. They show a very small percentage rise overall. As mentioned, the census figures do not necessarily agree with figures from other sources.[12]

Table 10.5
First-language speakers in the 1980 and 1990 censuses

Language	Number of speakers (millions)		Percentage of speakers	
	1980	1990	1980	1990
Javanese	51.4	60.3	41.3	38.8
Sundanese	18.8	24.2	15.1	15.6
Madurese	6.0	6.8	4.9	4.4
Minangkabau	3.0	3.5	2.4	2.3
Buginese	2.9	3.2	2.3	2.1
Batak	2.6	3.1	2.1	2.0
Balinese	2.2	2.6	1.8	1.7
Banjarese	1.4	2.8	1.1	1.8
Other	21.5	27.0	17.3	17.4
Indonesian	14.8	24.0	11.9	15.5

For Indonesian, the percentage of speakers does not appear high. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the censuses allowed only one 'language of the home'; the majority of speakers of other languages are also bilingual in Indonesian. The number who stated that they can speak Indonesian is very much higher, as given in Table 10.3. Table 10.5 shows an increase in the number of speakers for every language individually specified over the ten years between the censuses. Nevertheless, in percentage terms there was a slight decline for most of the languages. Most, but not all, of the decrease results from a shift to Indonesian. While the table shows no decrease in the number of speakers of the more than 500 'other' languages, the single figure hides a significant decline in the number of speakers of many of the languages.

LINGUA FRANCAS AND LANGUAGE SHIFT

Apart from Indonesian, the only significant percentage increase in Table 10.5 is that of Banjarese, which increased at the expense of other languages. In Central and South Kalimantan, numbers of speakers of smaller languages have declined rapidly, with people switching to Banjarese as their first language. Banjarese has moved from being the major lingua franca in the region to being the first language of much of the population.

The position of Banjarese is a good example of the fact that in communication between different ethnic groups Indonesian is not necessarily the language chosen. In the provinces of South, Central and East Kalimantan, nearly all speakers of the minor languages, the Dayak languages, are able to speak Banjarese. It is thus used alongside Indonesian

in inter-ethnic communication. In this case, Banjarese has increasingly come to be used not only between speakers of different languages but also by speakers of the same language, at first alongside their own language, later in place of it. It has been reported that, by the late 1980s, the 4000 people of the Paku tribe had practically stopped using Paku as a result of frequent contacts with speakers of other languages and that children no longer learnt Paku.[13] Thus the significant increase in the number of Banjarese speakers, from 1.4 million to 2.8 million speakers according to official censuses, is at the expense of the Dayak languages, some of which have declined rapidly.

Throughout Indonesia, various languages act as lingua francas, some over significantly greater areas than others. The island of Sulawesi is typical of a region where there is a large number of languages, most with small populations — there are about 80 languages on the island — and hence the need for languages of wider communication.

In North Sulawesi, particularly in the Minahasa region, Manado Malay has long been the principal language of inter-ethnic communication. Its position has become so strong that regional languages are under considerable and increasing pressure from it. As early as 1925, it was noted that Manado Malay was increasingly being used in villages throughout Minahasa at the expense of the local languages.[14] As with Banjarese in areas of Kalimantan, Manado Malay has developed from being a lingua franca in the region to being the first, and usually the only, language of most of the population. A listing of languages published in 1996 — but obviously based on old information — gives 30 000 speakers for Ratahan, one of the minor languages of Minahasa.[15] But linguists gathering information on Ratahan in 1997 discovered that only 500 good speakers of the language were left, mostly over 60 years of age, with a few thousand 'semi-speakers'.[16] It is reported that Bantik, another Minahasan language, is also threatened with extinction, being maintained only by older people in five villages that have all recently been absorbed by the city of Manado.[17] Ratahan, Bantik and the other languages of the region are all in danger of extinction as a result of the shift to Manado Malay.

Speakers of Buginese, originating in the southeast of Sulawesi, have migrated in considerable numbers to many coastal regions around the island and their language has influenced local languages. In South Sulawesi in particular, it is a contact language among speakers of numerous smaller languages. Kaili, a language of Central Sulawesi, has long been a lingua franca among different language groups in the area, while

Gorontalo, the largest language in the western part of North Sulawesi, serves the same function among the many small languages in that region, alongside Manado Malay. Such lingua francas retain their strength, but usually at the expense of smaller local languages, as has occurred with Banjarese in Kalimantan.

In the central Moluccas, the disappearing of languages at the expense of the local Malay has been more drastic than in North Sulawesi. After centuries as the major lingua franca in the region and the language of Christian preaching, Ambon Malay has spread considerably at the expense of local languages. Many Christian villages in Ambon had switched to Ambon Malay by 1850; from being the language of inter-ethnic communication it had by then become the language of the home for many people.[18]

In West Papua (Irian Jaya) local forms of Malay are spreading to such an extent that many local languages are endangered. For one language it has been reported that no one under the age of 40 uses it; they all use the local Malay.[19]

In East Timor, a variety of the Tetum (or Tetun) language has long been the major lingua franca among a population speaking 19 different languages.[20] The second largest of the East Timorese languages, and spoken also in the eastern region of West Timor, it exists in a number of regional dialects. Tetun-Praça, the dialect spoken in the region of the capital Dili, became widespread throughout East Timor as a second language, a role it continued after independence.

THE SPREAD OF INDONESIAN

Despite the spread of local lingua francas in some areas, it is the national language that is putting most pressure on regional languages. Throughout Indonesia, education has been in the national language since independence. All people who have had the opportunity for some education, then, have at least some facility in Indonesian. In cities, especially Jakarta, there is a growing shift to monolingualism in Indonesian. People whose work brings them into contact with other ethnic groups in the context of a modern city will use Indonesian on a regular basis (although in the context of traditional rural life such contact may be in the local lingua franca).

There are numerous reports of local languages giving ground to Indonesian. Just two are mentioned here. In the Lampung-speaking region of South Sumatra, as early as the 1970s the language was already little used in the cities, with increasing numbers of young people not using

it at all, although it remained the language of the home in rural villages.[21] On the island of Sumba, in southeast Indonesia, only about 20 per cent of school-age children attended school in the late 1970s. However, by 1994, 100 per cent of eligible children attended school, assisted by a massive school-building program, better roads and more available public transport. As in Lampung and elsewhere in the country, education in Sumba has increasingly exposed young people to Indonesian.[22]

After the Indonesian takeover of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in the mid-1970s, all education was in Indonesian. By the late 1990s, the situation in East Timor was much the same as in numerous other outlying areas of Indonesia: educated speakers were fluent in Indonesian, domestic television and radio broadcasts were in Indonesian and its position was strengthening in relation to the local languages. By the time of East Timor's independence in 1999, more than 60 per cent of the population were found to be proficient in Indonesian.

The relationship between Indonesian and the regional languages has been well described by one scholar:

> On the national level, a very important factor that diminishes the prestige of regional languages is the prevalence of diglossia, whereby Indonesian functions as the national, supra-ethnic, official language, whereas the regional languages are used for unofficial intra-ethnic communication and local cultural events. Mass education and mass communication, along with the omnipresence of government institutions, representatives, and regulations, as well as of religious institutions (given the obligation for an Indonesian citizen to adhere to an officially recognised (world) religion), have created a multitude of domains in which Indonesian is the only appropriate means of communication. Domains in which the regional languages are or were appropriate have been taken over by Indonesian, or have become of secondary importance. 'Progress cannot be stopped.' Modernisation implies cultural genocide.[23]

The emergence of an urban middle class since 1949, particularly since 1966, is an important development in modern Indonesia and it has had a significant effect on the spread of the national language. The new middle class, which did not exist in traditional society, has been defined as educated and having a lifestyle and values that are distinctly 'bourgeois'.[24] Among the middle class there are common patterns of social behaviour heavily influenced by Western consumerism, as seen in the housing estates, plazas and campuses of major cities.

It has been observed that there is enormous pressure to use

Indonesian in the 'modern places' where the middle class are prominent, such as department stores, restaurants and other places that urban Indonesians consider 'upmarket and prestigious'. In such places, employees can become offended if addressed in a local language, even if it is within the region where the language is spoken. Such is the pressure to use Indonesian that 'there now seems to be a "taboo" on using local languages in such "trendy" places'.[25] Thus elements of prestige and modernity combine with other factors to put pressure on city dwellers to use Indonesian in more and more situations, both in regional cities and in Jakarta. The shift from Jakarta Malay to Indonesian among traditional *Betawi* families is part of the trend (see p. 155).

EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN REGIONAL LANGUAGES

There has generally been a feeling of indifference towards the regional languages in official circles. Emphasis has been on national unity and on Indonesian as the national unifier. There have been those who have seen the regional languages as reminders of diversity and, given the frequent fragility of national unity, this has done little to encourage preservation of the languages. In areas where there is one large language spoken, such as Javanese and Sundanese, education for the first three years can be in that language before it switches to Indonesian. But the great majority of languages are not used in the education system at all.

Javanese, Balinese and a few other languages have long traditions of literature and children acquire literacy skills if they have the opportunity for a primary education in regions where those languages are spoken. With the new century there are even moves to increase and reinvigorate the teaching of Javanese script in schools. However, for the great majority of languages there is little or no tradition of writing; for speakers of such languages there is little if any need to write in other than Indonesian. Under the constitution, the government is expected to respect and maintain those languages that are respected and maintained by their users, as they are part of the national culture.[26] In practice, support for regional languages has been minimal, one of the few efforts being the teaching of Javanese and Sundanese in some universities. The *Pusat Bahasa* sponsors study of regional languages by university researchers; however, due to limited funds and training, such grammatical descriptions and dictionaries as are produced are generally of poor quality. Of higher standard is research on the languages done at PhD level, as well as work done by non-Indonesian linguists. But the

number of such products is not great, given the large number of languages, and many still remain undescribed in more than a very superficial way.

Moreover, such scholarly research does nothing to maintain and encourage the use of the languages described and rarely even comes to the notice of speakers of the languages. There has never been an official program of fostering use of languages other than Indonesian. What efforts there might be for particular languages are carried out by local interest groups and, however well-intentioned these might be, they achieve very little.

Preservation of languages is linked closely to preservation of the cultures of which those languages are a part. But in the era of modernisation traditional cultures are becoming increasingly marginalised. A government directive in 1983 stated that regional languages and arts are to be respected, in so far as they enrich the national language, arts, culture and identity. But under the New Order government economic development was given highest priority and fostering of the national language was seen as central to development. Thus the 1983 directive stated that 'language development and cultivation are to be implemented by compelling the use of good and correct Indonesian'.[27] Traditional cultures and arts were seen as playing little part in this progress, except in so far as they could attract foreign tourists to Indonesia. The government has thus in practice done little to encourage maintenance of regional languages and cultures, both because this is regarded as playing little part in development and progress and because of fears of encouraging regional loyalties and jealousies.

As early as 1950, Dutch linguist AA Fokker warned about the danger of the decline of the regional languages in the face of Indonesian if nothing positive was done for their maintenance and cultivation.[28] Many people continue to be concerned about the plight of the regional languages, but feel powerless to do anything about it. It has been suggested that regional languages can be preserved if they are used in modern contexts, including having a role in administration and education. Under the New Order, this would have been unrealistic and at present, given greater concerns about regional autonomy and independence and the ever-present threat of inter-ethnic violence since the fall of Suharto, it runs counter to concerns for maintaining Indonesia's unity. Besides, people who raise such possibilities tend to think only of the major languages, which often have a literary tradition and from among whose speakers many of the educated elite are drawn. But it is instead the

hundreds of smaller languages that are in most danger of disappearing and these are the least able to be used in any situation related to development, government and education.

Not everyone has been concerned about the fate of minor languages. Those regional languages that have a sufficiently large number of speakers, associated with a literary and cultural tradition of their own, will not disappear. But Alisjahbana wrote that there was no justification for a language policy that preserves hundreds of languages spoken by small groups of people by artificial means. Such a policy would turn Indonesia into a language museum, he said.[29]

The only realistic way of preserving the regional languages as living languages of communities would be for a genuine attempt to be made to maintain the traditional cultures in which the languages are used. Even this is most unlikely to come from Jakarta. It will probably be the case that preservation of cultures and languages will have to come from a real desire among the people themselves. Yet such a desire seems unlikely. To urban dwellers and even most rural people, acquisition of some of the advantages of modernisation and development are far more desirable than clinging to traditional values and ways. One study has shown that there are many families in Surabaya, a large city in East Java, where couples speak Indonesian in the home because they see this as giving their children more advantages and prospects of progress in life. Similar linguistic changes are occurring in other towns in Java among young, upwardly mobile families that aspire to a better socio-economic lifestyle.[30] Moreover, people do not have to be upwardly mobile to prefer speaking Indonesian; the mere desire to progress and not to be left behind is a powerful incentive. The same is true throughout the nation. All Indonesians, except the very remote and isolated, are surrounded by pressures to modernise and Indonesian is the language of modernisation; proficiency in Indonesian is essential for anyone wanting to live anything but a wholly traditional life.

Even formerly isolated villages, such as in the forests of Kalimantan and West Papua, now have little hope of retaining their traditional way of life. They have become increasingly exposed to the modern world, often through the intrusion of logging and mining companies into their land. This inevitably leads to social dislocation; in many cases, they are driven from their lands, which has a destructive effect on their traditional culture, including their language.

An exception to the weakening position of regional languages is in some regions with strong breakaway movements. This especially applies

to Aceh, in northern Sumatra. However, in West Papua, another area with a strong secessionist movement, the need for unity among speakers of several hundred languages maintains the position of Indonesia.

THE POSITION OF JAVANESE

As the largest regional language in Indonesia, the position of Javanese is worth separate consideration. While some of the challenges it faces apply to other languages as well, there are circumstances unique to Javanese.

The Javanese language is in no danger of disappearing, having by far the largest number of speakers of any regional language and a strong and ancient cultural tradition. Between the 1980 and 1990 censuses, the number of Javanese speakers rose by almost nine million. Nevertheless, despite the increase in the number of speakers, there was a decline by 2.5 per cent between the two censuses of the overall Indonesian population speaking Javanese as their first language. The great majority of Javanese can also speak Indonesian and this bilingualism is the condition that allows for a shift from maintenance of Javanese to monolingualism in Indonesian. This has certainly occurred, for instance, in a great many Javanese families that have moved to Jakarta and, as mentioned, is also occurring in cities within Javanese-speaking Central and East Java. As early as 1960, a sociologist commented on the shift towards Indonesian among Javanese, writing, 'although the use of Indonesian for everyday conversation is still mostly confined to the more sophisticated urbanites, and its use suggests something of an air of public speaking for most Javanese, it is rapidly becoming more and more an integral part of their daily cultural life and will become even more so as the present generation of school children grows to adulthood'.[31]

One study of language use among Javanese lists a number of reasons why Javanese might use Indonesian instead of Javanese in certain circumstances.[32] Some of the reasons for shift apply to other languages, while some are peculiar to Javanese.

Indonesian is typically used for prestigious activities, and in using Indonesian people acquire prestige, or at least see themselves as doing so. For example, Indonesian is associated with education and modernity. Therefore fluency in Indonesian gives one the aura of being educated and modern. Indonesian is also the language of Jakarta, where people viewed as powerful, wealthy and attractive reside. Speaking like such people helps one acquire some of their prestige. In the increasing

number of domains associated with modern life, Indonesian is the only appropriate language. It is used for discussion of technical, legal and medical matters and anything to do with the global village. It is thus the register for speaking about new activities and situations. Javanese may code-switch while discussing such matters, speaking basically Javanese but incorporating many Indonesian terms. For many modern concepts, Javanese has no precise term and the Indonesian word comes readily to mind. In discussing non-traditional activities, such as a family member's graduation, Indonesian will likely be used. Since Indonesian is the language of education, parents will often speak Indonesian when discussing their children's school work or helping with homework. While children normally speak Javanese to their parents, they have been observed switching to Indonesian in situations associated with modern activities, such as when asking permission to go to a pop concert.[33] Finally, Indonesian is used when talking to non-Javanese.

The above reasons for shifting to Indonesian are certainly not confined to Javanese. But there are factors specifically associated with the Javanese language, in particular its complex system of levels (see pp. 104–105), which can lead to shift to Indonesian. In traditional Javanese society, a person is likely to retain the same social status and live in the same area for life. In traditional life, therefore, people know their place and know what style of language is appropriate on different social occasions. In modern society, social status relative to others is often less certain. Indonesian can serve as a means for avoiding use of Javanese with fellow Javanese to avoid awkward social situations resulting from the close bond between the language and traditional Javanese culture.

The following two situations illustrate this. In class a teacher and student speak Indonesian to each other. Outside the class the teacher uses *Ngoko* (the familiar Javanese style) to the student, who responds in *Krama* (the respect style). Later, the student obtains a university degree or high-ranking position. He continues to use *Krama* to his former teacher, but the teacher can no longer use *Ngoko*; his former pupil is now a higher-status adult. In his uncertainty as to the appropriate form to use in the new social relationship, he will almost certainly switch to Indonesian. In the traditional administration, a superior addresses inferiors in *Ngoko*. In a modern business or government department, use of *Ngoko* to a white-collar worker is out of the question, although the junior office worker does not have sufficient status to be addressed by his superior in *Krama*. In this situation, use of Indonesian is the solution.

In modern Indonesia, a person of humble background has increased opportunities for an education, travel and achieving higher status. A person from a peasant background or from a remote area where a distinctly dialectal form of the language is spoken, and whose speech will reveal his origins, may have little confidence in speaking to social superiors in Javanese. Such a person will thus have a strong tendency to switch to Indonesian. In this case, use of Indonesian is not so much a device for gaining prestige, but rather a device for concealment.

THE PRESENT STATE OF INDONESIAN

In many ways, especially in its grammatical elaboration and incorporation of affixes from both Sanskrit and European languages, Indonesian has moved far away from its Malay roots. Since the name 'Indonesian' was proclaimed in 1928, the language has undergone development at a speed experienced by few other languages in history, changing more than it did in the preceding 500 years.[34]

The language has been undergoing rapid changes since independence, although there may have been some slowing in the rate of change since the 1980s, by which time the language had by and large achieved the planners' major goal of reaching a level of adequacy required of a language used as a means of modern communication. In the words of the director of the *Pusat Bahasa*, it was achieving 'a level of functional equality with other languages which may be called fully developed languages'.[35]

The sophistication of the language in any domain of academic discourse can be seen, for instance, in any mainstream newspaper or journal, as in the following example:

> *Sudah pasti bisa diduga bahwa persoalan politik setelah periode pemerintah Orde Baru yang otoriter tidak berhenti begitu saja. Keruntuhan institusi politik lama dan ketiadaan institusi baru yang legitimate menyebabkan proses stabilisasi politik berlarut-larut. Bahkan, TNI yang selama ini dianggap sebagai institusi paling solid juga mengalami persoalan sama: kegamangan menatap era baru. Semua kisruh politik itu berdampak pada proses pemulihan ekonomi dan sosial secara lebih luas. Ekonomi masyarakat menjadi korban ketidakstabilan politik yang sampai saat ini belum pasti ujungnya.*[36]

TRANSLATION:

> It can certainly be assumed that political problems following the period of the authoritarian New Order government will not simply go away. The collapse of old political institutions and the absence of legit-

> imate new institutions have caused the process of political stabilisation to drag on indefinitely. Moreover, the armed forces, which until the present have been considered the strongest institution, are experiencing the same problem: a feeling of helplessness gazing at the new era. All this political disorder is having an impact on the process of broader economic and social restoration. The economic life of the common people is a victim of political instability whose end point cannot at present be determined.

Despite the adequacy acquired by formal Indonesian as a national language, however, there is still much to be achieved in the standardisation process. Many educated speakers are tolerant of or indifferent to careless usage as well as variation in the formal language. The development of full standardisation will only emerge from consensus on what is 'good and correct' language. This will require improved education, especially in literacy skills. Social sanctions against incorrect usage, as occur in Western societies, will also be important.

THE FUTURE OF INDONESIAN

In 1998, the Minister for Education and Culture asserted that by the year 2010 there would be 215 million Indonesians, all of whom would be speakers of the national language. At that time, the future appeared clear: knowledge of Indonesian would have continued to increase above the 83 per cent who claimed to speak the language in 1990 and the number of people with genuine fluency in the language would also have continued to rise. Since then, events in Indonesia may have changed the situation. The collapse of the Suharto regime was accompanied by social upheaval in many parts of the country. Some see this as presaging the break up of the country, which would certainly have an enormous effect on the future of the national language.

The main change to date has been the breakaway of East Timor, which gained independence in 1999. The interim government had to make a choice as to the official language of the new nation. It could have been Indonesian, leaving in place the situation obtaining until then. However, there was little support for this; there had been strong resentment of Indonesian rule and Indonesian was seen in much the same light as Dutch had been viewed by the Indonesian nationalists when they were contemplating a national language. As the language of what was seen by the majority of East Timorese as the colonial power it could not receive the commitment and loyalty of the population. An Asia Foundation survey in 2001 found only 3 per cent of

the East Timor population wanted Indonesian as their official language, even though 63 per cent of the population had some level of proficiency in it.[37]

English was often suggested for the national language, given the closeness of Australia and the role of English as the international language of wider communication. Surprisingly for many, the new government chose Portuguese to be the national language. Before the Indonesian take-over in 1975, Portuguese was the official language and the language of what little education there had been. Although Portuguese had been the language of the previous colonial power, the negative aspects associated with this seem to have been lost in the intervening decades of Indonesian control. Portuguese was, for many in the Timorese leadership, the language of resistance to Indonesian rule.

Whether Portuguese will have a lasting place cannot be judged yet. Most young people do not know the language, with no more than 15 per cent of the entire population having reasonable proficiency in it. Those educated during the Indonesian period felt their acquisition of Indonesian to have been wasted and expressed much frustration at the thought of having to learn a new language. Reportedly, English classes are at least as popular as Portuguese classes, many seeing fluency in English as essential to obtaining employment, particularly with foreign companies. Nevertheless, the government appeared determined to go ahead with its plans and in mid-2001 announced that it would recruit more than 700 Portuguese language teachers, who were actively sought in Portugal and Brazil.

With the marked increase in the influence of English following independence and an emotional reaction against all things Indonesian among many East Timorese, ability in Indonesian is now falling, particularly as it is no longer used in education. Nevertheless, given East Timor's geographic position and exposure to Indonesia, the language will inevitably remain of some importance.

One can only speculate on the future of Indonesian in other regions that might gain independence. The two strongest breakaway movements are at the opposite extremes of Indonesia: West Papua and Aceh.

West Papua is basically an undeveloped region where more than 200 languages are spoken. For communication within the new country, a national language would have to be found. It seems most improbable that it could be anything other than Indonesian. It might be, however, that it would revert to its original name of Malay.

Aceh differs from West Papua, and from East Timor, in that the

overwhelming majority of people are speakers of a single language. Aceh nationalists associate their language with what they see as their distinctive differences from Indonesia. Should the province gain independence, Acehnese would be a major language in any possible future administration. Nevertheless, Indonesian — which Acehnese nationalists always refer to as Malay — would remain strong. Malay was the language of literature and of the royal court in Aceh for many centuries and knowledge of it has long been widespread. Any future Acehnese state would be small and dependent in many ways on links with Indonesia and Malaysia, ensuring a continuing strong role for Indonesian.

Within Indonesia, the position of the language will further strengthen as the number of the population who are classified as able to speak the language, however that is interpreted (see p. 199), approaches 100 per cent. It will further encroach on the roles of the regional languages, many of which are in danger of disappearing.

One major question is the future of the diglossic state of the language. While diglossia can remain stable for centuries, there are cases where there is a drift away from the rigid division between high and low varieties of a language, as has occurred in Greece in recent decades. In almost all cases, the position of the prestige variety weakens at the expense of the low vernacular.

Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian is acquiring the status of a prestige variety of informal Indonesian, for reasons discussed in Chapter 8, a trend that has continued into the new century. The breakdown in the previous fairly strict separation of High and Low Indonesian could eventually lead to the disappearance of diglossia, although any such trend is certainly at a very early stage. Further, there are factors militating against this tendency. Until the present, all education has been strictly in high style and this is acting against the breakdown of diglossia in domains associated with education. Nevertheless, this could change. As mentioned, large sections of the community feel alienated from the formal language. The intellectualisation of formal language, in the mass media and other areas of formal discourse, has led to much of it being unintelligible to a considerable extent to less well-educated people. Without an improvement in the general level of education in the country, this barrier will remain. This situation is unlikely to change while there is diglossia, with proficiency in the high variety largely determined by opportunities for education. If authorities ever conclude that the national interest would be better served by a more positive attitude to colloquial speech, as advocated by Harimurti Kridalakasana (see

p. 141), the result could well be a major shift away from the high variety in the education system, which would have profound consequences for the future of the language.

The linguistic study of colloquial Indonesian has only recently begun (see p. 122), and only by non-Indonesian specialists. However, the interest of overseas colleagues will probably begin to influence the way Indonesian linguists, including those associated with the *Pusat Bahasa*, view the language. In fact, one has called recently for Indonesian scholars to begin studying this form of the language.[38] If such a development commences, it could well enhance the respectability of the low variety among those associated with language and education policy, leading to recognition for a role for colloquial speech in education. If this occurs, it will contribute to a breaking down of the diglossic gulf between formal and informal Indonesian.

Whatever the future of diglossia, Jakartan Indonesian will continue to influence regional varieties and will become increasingly accepted as a colloquial standard.

One possible direction for the language in the future is closer integration with the official Malay of Malaysia. This seems a remote possibility. The influence of neo-Sanskrit, Javanese and Jakarta Malay, as discussed in Chapter 8, continue to lead Indonesian further away from Malaysian Malay. If in future Indonesian more closely resembles Malaysian and Brunei Malay, it will be because of its influence on those languages; convergence is likely to be because of change in Malaysian and Brunei Malay rather than in Indonesian. Its position within the Malay world is somewhat akin to that of American English in the English-speaking world, with the American variety exerting considerable influence on others while taking very little from them in return.

Internationally, Indonesian will remain of very limited significance. Despite the fact that it is the sole official and national language of the fourth most populous nation in the world, it has no prospects of acquiring international importance. Since the economic collapse of 1997 and subsequent social and political turmoil, Indonesia's international position has slipped from the low level it was already at. Indonesian remains an important LOTE (language other than English) in the Australian education system, at both secondary and tertiary levels, but is of no more than minor interest elsewhere in the world and of no interest at all in most countries. In Australia, interest in the language has dropped dramatically since the height of its popularity in the mid-1990s, when Indonesia was widely seen as a stable, rapidly developing and increas-

ingly friendly neighbour. Following the economic and social upheavals of the late 1990s and the violence in many parts of the country, especially in East Timor in 1999, the image of Indonesia in Australia deteriorated significantly, with a predictable drop in interest in learning the language. In some universities, interest was so low by 2002 that there was doubt their courses would continue. In New Zealand, the last Indonesian course, at Auckland University, closed in 2001. Nevertheless, the decline will not be fatal and Indonesian will remain an important LOTE. In the state of Victoria, Indonesian retains its position as the LOTE with the largest number of students in secondary schools.

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The future of the Indonesian language will be bound up with the future of the Indonesian state. If Indonesia remains unified and prospers, so too will its national language. If the nation fractures, the language will remain but will travel in different directions in the various polities. Its future, then, is dependent on the ability of the Indonesian-speaking peoples to resolve their current difficulties. The language has been an essential element in the unification of the archipelago; now that unity will be essential to the future state of the language.

ENDNOTES

1 INTRODUCTION

1 Fishman (1978: 333).
2 William Liddle, quoted by Errington (1998: 4).
3 Adelaar (1996b) discusses the history of Malay in Malaysia.
4 Discussed in more detail by Prentice (1978, 1990).
5 Omar (1978, 1993) discusses language planning in Malaysia.
6 Prentice (1978: 32).
7 Dardjowidjojo (1998: 37).
8 The *Australian*, 6 November 2002.
9 Adelaar and Prentice (1996: 677).
10 The great variety of Malay types, many of which have not yet been described, are discussed by Adelaar and Prentice (1996).
11 Others have advocated avoidance of the term Bahasa Indonesia, including Prentice (1978: 22). Moeliono and Grimes (1995: 445) write: 'the official term "Bahasa Indonesia" is correct when writing or speaking in Indonesian, "Indonesian" is the preferred term when speaking or writing in English, and "Bahasa" by itself is to be studiously avoided'.
12 Cited by Sutherland (1968: 124).
13 Dalton (1978: 23).
14 Jones (1998: 74).
15 Hall (1972: 151).
16 Alisjahbana (1976: 106).
17 Abas (1987: vii)
18 See Sneddon (2000: 77–79) for a discussion with examples.
19 Dixon (1997: 118).
20 Dalton (1978: 23).
21 Winstedt (1962: Preface).
22 Peacock (1973: 79).
23 Anderson (1966: 105–106).
24 Sarumpaet (1980: vi).
25 Moeliono (1994a: 209) comments on this attitude.
26 Two teaching texts (Wolff et al. 1992 and Johns 1996) incorporate a limited amount of informal language material. One teaching text, entitled *Colloquial Indonesian* (Atmosumarto 1995), is misnamed, being a course devoted entirely to the formal variety of the language. The TIFL (Teaching Indonesian as a Foreign Language) materials produced at the University of

New South Wales and made available to others provide a considerable amount of good informal material, but contain no description of this variety. Problems in teaching informal Indonesian are discussed by Sneddon (2001).

2 MALAY AND THE AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

1 Clark (1990), Ross (1995) and Tryon (1995a, 1995b) have general discussions of the Austronesian languages, their interrelationships and linguistic characteristics.
2 Figures are from Tryon (1995b: 16–17), who gives a total of 270 million speakers of Austronesian languages.
3 Dates in this section are drawn from a number of sources, principally Blust (1984–85) and Bellwood (1995).
4 Ross (1995: 95–99) discusses the Austric and Austro-Tai theories.
5 Discussion of the reconstructions is from Blust (1977) and (1984–85). Blust (1984–85) and (1995) considers in some detail the social life and physical environment of the Austronesian ancestors from the linguistic evidence.
6 The subgroupings of Austronesian languages presented here are from Blust (1978) and several subsequent publications, such as Blust (1984–85). The hypothesis is generally accepted by others, e.g. Clark (1990: 177). The linguistic evidence for the subgroupings is summarised by Tryon (1995b). The history of comparative-historical study of the Austronesian languages and theoretical issues are discussed by Blust (1990).
7 Bellwood (1995: 101).
8 The diagram follows Blust (1984–85: 46).
9 Blust (1984–85: 59).
10 Adelaar (1995: 77).
11 Adelaar (1995: 82).
12 Adelaar (1992a) and (1995) has done much to establish the interrelations of the Malayic languages.
13 Collins (1998: 3).

3 OLD MALAY

1 Bellwood (1995: 107).
2 Van Leur (1955: 92–99) first recognised the active role of Malays in maritime trade. See also Hall (1981: 18).
3 Wolters (1967: 242). Much on the early history of the Malays is drawn from Wolters, although this work contains much speculation where hard facts are unavailable.
4 Bellwood (1995: 107).
5 Information on the Borneo inscriptions is from de Casparis (1986) and Supomo (1995).
6 Andaya and Andaya (2001: 17).
7 Supomo (1995: 298).
8 Wolters (1967: 158).
9 Teeuw (1959: 146).
10 The inscriptions are discussed by Coedes (1930, 1964) and de Casparis (1950, 1986). Adelaar (1992b) also discusses the Telaga Batu inscription of AD 686.
11 Coedes (1964) discusses the various interpretations by scholars of the meaning of the text.
12 The spelling here generally follows Emais (1975: 230). The word-for-word translation is based on that of DJ Prentice (unpublished), while the full translation is based on that of Coedes (1964: 25). However, what is produced here is not identical to that in any one source. The Syaka date 604 corresponds to AD 682.
13 I-tsing is discussed by Wolters (1967), Supomo (1995) and, more briefly, by Hall (1981: 37–38, 49).

14 Recent archaeological study has shown that present-day Palembang was indeed the site of the capital of Srivijaya, as long believed (Manguin 1993).
15 Hall (1981: 50).
16 The distinction is made by Prentice (1978).
17 Hall (1981: 64).
18 Described by de Casparis (1950: 50–73).
19 Described by Bosch (1941).
20 Described by Postma (1992).
21 Wolff (1976) discusses the Malay influence on Tagalog.
22 Hall (1981: 70).
23 Andaya and Andaya (2001: 33).
24 Teeuw (1961: 11). Teeuw (1959: 148–49) also discusses the Pagarruyun inscription.
25 Steinhauer (1980: 354–55).
26 AH Johns, quoted by Jaspan (1964: 6).
27 Van Leur (1955: 99).
28 Collins (1998: 45).
29 Gonda (1973) gives a detailed discussion of Sanskrit borrowings in Indonesia. Spitzbardt (1970) and Jones (1984) have shorter discussions.

4 THE CLASSICAL MALAY PERIOD

1 Andaya and Andaya (2001: 55).
2 Hall (1981: 221).
3 Hall (1981: 222).
4 Teeuw (1959: 149). The poem is discussed by Marrison (1951).
5 The stone is discussed in detail by Paterson (1924) and Blagden (1924).
6 The translation of the text is by Blagden, provided by Paterson (1924: 256). A better translation is 'Great Exalted Divinity' (Collins 1998: 12).
7 Paterson (1924: 255).
8 The translation deviates in a few places from the transliteration, sometimes — as in the first line — taking into consideration alternative interpretations, as commented on by Paterson (1924: 257).
9 Jones (1986) discusses the different traditions of writing.
10 The discussion on Malacca in this and following sections draws particularly on Andaya and Andaya (2001).
11 Edited and translated by Cortesao (1944).
12 The best-known is the 'Raffles text', Winstedt (1938), translation by Brown (1952).
13 Andaya and Andaya (2001: 34).
14 Wolters (1970: 116).
15 Andaya and Andaya (2001: 39).
16 Adelaar and Prentice (1996: 674).
17 Edwards and Blagden (1930) provide the list and commentary. The list is also discussed by Collins (1998: 14–15).
18 Steinhauer (1980: 356).
19 Steinhauer (1980: 371).
20 Grimes (1994: 255).
21 Steinhauer (1980: 356). Bausani (1960) provides the list and commentary.
22 Blagden (1930: 87).
23 Ricklefs (1976: 129).
24 Discussion, transcriptions and translations of these letters are from Shellabear (1898).
25 Teeuw (1959: 149–50).
26 Teeuw (1959: 150).
27 Proudfoot and Hooker (1998: 22) and Winstedt (1958a) discuss the dates of the different versions.

28 Proudfoot and Hooker (1998: 22).
29 Proudfoot and Hooker (1998: 22).
30 The Romanised text is from Winstedt (1938:93) and the translation from Brown (1952: 93).
31 Lyons (1968: 9).
32 For instance, Abas (1987: 20) has a map showing the Indonesian province of Riau as the area where Riau Malay is 'spoken natively'.
33 Gil (1994).
34 Shellabear (1913: 49–50).
35 Jones (1998: 74).
36 Winstedt (1958b: 141).
37 Salleh (1998: 81).
38 The text is taken from Abdullah (1960: 64–65). The very free translation is by Hill (1970: 78–79).
39 Discussed by Adelaar (1996a: 695–96) and Jones (1984), from which most examples are taken.
40 Jones (1984: 11).
41 Gonda (1973: 60; 161).
42 Jones (1984: 12). Most of the examples are drawn from Jones.
43 Collins (1998: 41–45) provides commentary and a page of the dialogue.
44 Grijns (1999: 55).
45 Rafferty (1984: 250).
46 Lim (1988). Chinese influence is also discussed by Adelaar (1996a: 698–99). Examples of borrowings are taken from Lim (1988) and Jones (1984).

5 EUROPEAN INFLUENCES BEFORE THE 20TH CENTURY

1 Collins (1998: 26).
2 Prentice (1978: 19). Adelaar (1996a: 699–700) also discusses Portuguese and Portuguese creole in the archipelago.
3 Adelaar (1996a: 700).
4 Prentice (1978: 19) gives their number at the time he wrote as about 5000.
5 Most of the words listed here are taken from Grijns et al. (1983) and Jones (1984).
6 Grijns et al. (1983).
7 Salea Warouw (1985).
8 Collins (1998: 29).
9 Discussed by Collins (1998: 41–45).
10 Discussed by Collins (1992).
11 The following discussion draws heavily on Hoffman (1979).
12 Valentyn, quoted by Hoffman (1979: 69).
13 Hoffman (1979: 71).
14 Collins (1998: 55).
15 Hoffman (1979: 73).
16 Hoffman (1979: 75).
17 Maier (1993: 49).
18 Vikør (1983: 52).
19 Adam (1995: 81).
20 Teeuw (1961: 24).
21 Grijns (1996: 371).
22 Hoffman (1979: 83–84).
23 Hoffman (1979: 84).
24 The role of the early vernacular press in the development of the language is discussed by Adam (1995).
25 Grijns (1991a: 71).
26 The variety of Malay language publications is discussed by Collins (1998: 64).
27 Adam (1995: 58).

28 Van Ophuijsen's role is discussed by Hoffman (1979: 87–89). His spelling system is discussed by Grijns (1981: 3–4).
29 Hoffman (1979: 87).
30 Alisjahbana (1976: 77–78).
31 Maier (1993: 54).
32 Maier (1993: 55).

6 THE 20TH CENTURY TO 1945

1 Moeliono (1993: 130).
2 Adam (1995: 87).
3 Anwar (1980: 170).
4 Drewes (1981: 97).
5 Heryanto (1995: 48).
6 Teeuw (1979: 53). Teeuw (1972) discusses *Balai Pustaka*'s role in the development of Indonesian literature.
7 Drewes (1981: 97–102).
8 Teeuw (1979) discusses Iskandar's role in *Balai Pustaka*.
9 Teeuw (1979: 14).
10 Oetomo (1991: 55).
11 Drewes (1981: 99).
12 Salmon (1981) discusses this literature, including a bibliography. Maier (1991) also sympathetically discusses this literature and its increasing isolation from the mainstream.
13 Teeuw (1972: 121).
14 Discussed by Grijns (1991a: 57–58).
15 Grijns (1991a: 60).
16 Teeuw (1972: 115).
17 Teeuw (1979: 7).
18 Grijns (1991a: 70) discusses these influences.
19 Grijns (1998: 298).
20 Siegel (1987: 186, 188). Grijns (1991a: 69) applies the concept to 'general cultivated Malay'.
21 Adam (1995: 105).
22 Moeliono (1993: 132).
23 Moeliono (1993: 134).
24 Yamin's speech is quoted by Tabrani (1974: 313).
25 Tabrani (1974: 313).
26 Moeliono (1993) discusses the Youth Congress in detail.
27 The words *berbangsa yang satu* in the second pledge are usually translated 'belong to one nation' (e.g. Teeuw 1979: 22, Anwar 1980: 15). However, the focus was not on the importance of one state, but on the oneness of the various ethnic groups of the archipelago. 'People' is thus a more appropriate translation for *bangsa* than 'nation'. Further, 'nation' overlaps in meaning with 'fatherland' (*tanah tumpah darah*) in the first pledge. Abas (1987: 1) translates *(tanah) tumpah darah* as 'nation' and *bangsa* as 'people'. The word *menjunjung* in the third pledge literally means 'carry on the head', but also 'respect, hold in high esteem, uphold'. It is sometimes translated 'revere', although this English word has a stronger meaning, reflecting *menjunjung tinggi*, literally 'uphold highly', which was not used in the pledge.
28 Foulcher (2000) discusses in detail the 'reworking' of the *Sumpah Pemuda* under successive regimes to suit their ideology.
29 Grijns (1991a: 50).
30 Sukarno (1965a: 67).
31 The Javanese system of speech levels is more complex than indicated in this brief statement. The system is described by Wolff and Peodjosoedarmo (1982).
32 Anderson (1966: 104).

33 Anderson (1966: 104).
34 Moeliono (1993: 129).
35 Cited by Anwar (1980: 24). Comments on Alisjahbana's philosophy are mainly drawn from Anwar, Teeuw (1979) and Alisjahbana's own writings.
36 The discussion of *Pujangga Baru* draws largely on Sutherland (1968).
37 Sutherland (1968: 108).
38 Alisjahbana (1976: 29–30).
39 Alisjahbana (1978b: 17).
40 Teeuw (1979: 31).
41 Moeliono (1993: 138). Moeliono discusses the Congress in detail.
42 Abas lists the decisions of the Congress (1987: 180–81).
43 Teeuw (1979: 8).
44 Grijns (1991a: 53–54).
45 Nieuwenhuis's comments are translated by Maier (1993: 61, 62).
46 Teeuw (1979: 6).
47 Anwar (1980: 31).
48 Discussion of the Japanese period draws heavily on Anwar (1980).
49 Abas (1987: 1, 10).

7 LANGUAGE PLANNING

1 Liddle (1996: 93).
2 The early days of language planning are discussed by Muljadi (1978), Anwar (1980), Moeliono (1994a), and Dardjowidjojo (1998).
3 Moeliono (1994b: 385).
4 Muljadi (1978: 214).
5 The publications are discussed by Teeuw (1961: 70–72).
6 Vikør (1983: 69).
7 Moeliono (1994a: 209).
8 Ferguson (1959: 336).
9 Ferguson (1959: 332).
10 Among the few studies of informal Jakartan Indonesian is the analysis of some discourse particles by Wouk (1998, 1999) and a brief description by Ewing (to appear). Gil (1994) discusses colloquial Riau Indonesian.
11 Halim (1981: 7).
12 *Femina*, 18–24 June 1998, p. 24.
13 Lauder (1998: 73).
14 Heryanto (1995: 5).
15 The controversies are discussed by Anwar (1980: 108–18).
16 Anwar (1980: 112).
17 Anwar (1980: 117–18).
18 Anwar (1980: 116). The resolutions of the congress are given by Abas (1987: 196–206).
19 The spelling reforms are discussed by Kridalaksana (1974) and Vikør (1983).
20 Hooker (1993: 272).
21 Muljadi (1978: 215).
22 The work of the *Pusat Bahasa* is discussed in detail by Craig (1987).
23 Alisjahbana's efforts to preserve the traditional Malay phonological patterns are discussed by Grijns (1981).
24 Alisjahbana (1976: 72).
25 See Moeliono (1994a: 208), where he argues for this approach.
26 *Kompas*, 17 October 1986, pp. 1, 8. Alisjahbana's statement and the reaction are discussed by Anderson (1987) and Craig (1987: 103–104).
27 *Kompas*, 18 October 1986, p. 6.
28 Heryanto (1995: 14).
29 Alisjahbana (1978b: 191).
30 Craig (1987: 69).

31 Suprapto (1989) compares resolutions of the first five congresses.
32 Moeliono (1993: 138–40) discusses the failure of planners to implement the resolutions of the congresses.
33 Craig (1987: 153).
34 For the third edition of *Tata Bahasa Baku Bahasa Indonesia*, see Alwi et al. (1998). For the second edition of *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, see Tim Penyusun Kamus (1993).
35 Alisjahbana (1965).
36 Sneddon (1996: 69–98).
37 Voskuil (1996: 20).
38 Moeliono (1994a: 206).
39 Steinhauer (1994: 777).
40 Moeliono (1994a: 208).
41 Moeliono (1994a: 210).
42 Samsuri (1978: 314).
43 Moeliono (1994a: 207).
44 Alisjahbana (1978b: 201).
45 Madya (2000).
46 McCawley (1974: 118).
47 Madya (2000).
48 Heryanto (1995: 43). Heryanto discusses aspects of *bahasa pejabat*.
49 Translated by Hooker (1993: 272).
50 Hooker (1993: 273).
51 Foulcher (2000: 394).
52 Heryanto (1995: 50).
53 Cited by Steinhauer (1980: 368).
54 *Tata Bahasa Baku* (1998: 349), compared with Sarumpaet (1977: 12), who states that using *adalah* in adjectival constructions is 'a common mistake'.
55 *Tata Bahasa Baku* (1998: 342), compared with Samsuri (1981: 8) and Johns (1978: 226), who both disallow this use of *-kan*.

8 BEYOND PLANNING: OTHER INFLUENCES ON THE LANGUAGE

1 Anwar (1980: 124–35) discusses Sukarno's language. Many of the phrases and words mentioned also occur in Sukarno's writings, such as Sukarno (1965b). Political aspects of Sukarno's language are mentioned by Anderson (1966) and Hooker (1993: 282–84).
2 This should be *vivere pericolosamente*. Perhaps the shorter (ungrammatical) form just sounded more effective to Sukarno.
3 Anwar (1980: 132).
4 Acronyms and other abbreviations are discussed by Dardjowidjojo (1979).
5 Stevens (1973: 80).
6 Cited by Schwarz (1994: 144).
7 *Kompas Online*, 5 March 1997.
8 Figures are from Hill (1994: 14, 83).
9 *Jakarta Post*, 25 April 2001, editorial.
10 Goenawan Mohamad, editor of *Tempo* magazine, in an interview with Craig (1987: 51).
11 The distinction is made by Stevens (1973: 74).
12 Alisjahbana (1976: 122).
13 The seminar was reported by *Kompas*, 5 March 1997 p. 10.
14 *Prokem* is discussed by Chambert-loir (1984).
15 Wallace (1979: 70).
16 Grijns (1983: 39).
17 Mahdi (1981).
18 Grijns (1983: 38). Grijns (1981, 1983, 1991b) most insightfully articulates the distinction between Jakarta Malay and modern Jakartan Indonesian. The his-

tory and position of Jakarta Malay is briefly discussed by Ikranegara (1980). Descriptions of Jakarta Malay grammar are Ikranegara (1980) and Muhadjir (1981). There is also a Jakarta Malay–Indonesian dictionary (Chaer 1976).
19 Oetomo (1990: 69).
20 Oetomo (1990: 71).
21 Anwar (1980: 154).
22 Adelaar and Prentice (1996: 678).
23 *Tempo*, 17 March 2002, p. 71.
24 Numerous examples here are taken from Poedjosoedarmo (1982), who discusses Javanese borrowing in detail.
25 Steinhauer (1980: 369).
26 Anderson (1987: 3).
27 Jones (1984: 26).
28 Steinhauer (1980: 368–69).
29 de Vries (1988: 123–24).
30 Tanner (1967).
31 Smithies (1982: 107).
32 Grijns (1981: 7).
33 Adelaar (1992a: 10) discusses vowel harmony in traditional Malay.
34 Grijns et al. (1983).
35 Salea Warouw (1985).
36 This suffix is discussed in detail by de Vries (1984).
37 Lowenberg (1983: 79).
38 Anderson (1966: 111).
39 Jones (1984: 7–8) discusses these forms in detail.

9 THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH

1 Tanner (1972: 139).
2 Anwar (1980: 148).
3 The entry of global terms into Indonesian is discussed by Grijns (1999).
4 Lowenberg (1994: 232).
5 Salim (1977: 80).
6 Salim (1977: 78).
7 Lowenberg (1994: 235).
8 Dick (1985) discusses the Indonesian middle class and its values.
9 The examples occurred in the news magazine *Forum Keadilan*, 5 December 1999, p. 38 and 12 March 2000, p. 90 respectively.
10 Smithies (1982: 106).
11 Warrillow-Williams (2001: 153).
12 Warrillow-Williams (2001: 159–60).
13 Smithies (1982: 111).
14 Warrillow-Williams (2001: 102).
15 Grijns (1999: 60).
16 Lowenberg (1994: 241).
17 Errington (1986: 346).
18 Hoed (2000: 5).
19 The conversations were recorded in Jakarta, discussed by Sneddon (2001, 2002).
20 Examples in this paragraph are taken from Moeliono (1994b: 385–86).
21 Kaswanti Purwo (1992: 4).
22 The example, with translation, is from Verhaar (1989: 260).
23 Marcellino (1993: 21).
24 Grijns (1999: 65).
25 Muljadi (1978: 215), Anwar (1980: 104).
26 Heryanto (1995: 41).
27 Hoed (2000: 6).

10 REGIONAL LANGUAGES AND THE SPREAD OF INDONESIAN

1 Reported by Steinhauer (1994: 755).
2 BF Grimes (1996).
3 Esser (1938), Friberg and Laskowsky (1989).
4 Based on Dixon (1991: 241).
5 Based on Tryon (1995a: 17).
6 Steinhauer (1994: 783)
7 Wurm and Hattori (1983: map 38).
8 Nababan (1985: 13).
9 Steinhauer (1994: 764). The discussion in this section relies heavily on Steinhauer's analysis of the census data.
10 Steinhauer (1994: 759).
11 Figures for 1971 and 1980 are from Nababan (1985: 3). Figures for 1990 and all figures in Table 10.4 are from Steinhauer (1994: 760).
12 Extracted from Steinhauer (1994: appendix).
13 Steinhauer (1994: 771).
14 Adriani (1925: 143).
15 BF Grimes (1996: 665).
16 Himmelman and Wolff (1998: 3).
17 Steinhauer (1994: 770).
18 BD Grimes (1991: 141).
19 Steinhauer (1994: 769).
20 Thomaz (1981: 57).
21 Walker (1976: 1).
22 Kuipers (1998: 137).
23 Steinhauer (1994: 773).
24 Dick (1985: 73).
25 Oetomo (1990: 70).
26 Anwar (1980: 137).
27 Heryanto (1995: 38).
28 Fokker (1950: 45).
29 Cited by Teeuw (1979: 33).
30 Oetomo (1990: 69).
31 Geertz (1960: 259).
32 Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982), on which the following discussion is largely based.
33 Kartomihardjo (1979: 212–19) reports on the use of Indonesian in discussing school work and in other modern activities.
34 Prentice (1978: 33).
35 Moeliono (1986: 69).
36 *Forum Keadilan*, 5 September 1999, p. 66.
37 *Jakarta Post*, 20 May 2002, p. 3.
38 Kaswanti Purwo (1997: 61).

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Griffith
UNIVERSITY

Indonesia is the fourth most populous nation in the world, and one of the most linguistically complex. Its ethnic groups speak more than 500 languages and of these Malay, renamed Indonesian, was chosen to be the sole national and official language. Indonesian's development into a modern world language has been described by one socio-linguist as 'miraculous'. The language has been a key factor in the shaping and unification of modern Indonesia.

This important book, the first of its kind, is a historical, social, cultural and linguistic study of Indonesian. It traces the origins and pre-colonial development of the language, the emergence of Classical Malay from the fourteenth century, the choice of Malay by the nationalist movement as the national language prior to Independence, the planning associated with the adoption and implementation of the language, its borrowings from other languages, its use in contemporary Indonesia and its future. The book challenges many assumptions about Indonesian, particularly countering the myth that Indonesian is a simple language.

Broadly accessible but academically strong, the book does not assume an expert knowledge of the language on the part of the reader. Engagingly written, it will be an important book for students of Indonesian at all levels, and those interested in Indonesia's history and contemporary culture.

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